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ABSTRACT

This document discusses a hearing which concerns the needs of America's young black men who live in city neighborhoods with little or no opportunity for meaningful employment or educational success. Economists, educators, psychologists, anthropologists, and community activists testified on both the structural barriers that restrict young black males' potential and the need to develop for them economic opportunities and a positive self-image that can survive the systematic assaults on their dignity and well-being. The following facts about barriers and opportunities for young black men are discussed: (1) high black poverty rates persist and the black poor are getting poorer; (2) the number of underclass areas has doubled in recent years; (3) economic shifts have reduced black earnings and job opportunities; (4) young black males have lower marriage rates; (5) poor black males face major obstacles to education, particularly college; (6) black males are at greater risk of arrest and incarceration; and (7) young black men are at high risk of death from violence, substance abuse, and AIDS. Transcripts of the oral statements of six witnesses, written statements, and supporting materials are included, along with eight charts and 16 tables. (JS)

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BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICA'S YOUNG BLACK MEN

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, JULY 25, 1989

Printed for the use of the
Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families

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BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICA'S YOUNG BLACK MEN

TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1989

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES,
Washington, DC.

The select committee met, pursuant to call, at 9:30 a.m., in room 2325, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. George Miller (chairman of the select committee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Miller, Sikorski, Evans, Walsh, Holloway, Rowland, Lamar Smith, Peter Smith, Weiss, and Levin.

Also present: Representatives Payne, Crockett, Flake, Hayes, and Major Owens.

Staff present: Ann Rosewater, staff director, Howard Pinderhuges, professional staff; Virginia duRivage, professional staff; Dennis Smith, minority staff director; Carol Statuto, minority deputy staff director; and Joan Godley, committee clerk.

Chairman MILLER. The Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families is meeting today to address the needs of many of America's young black men who live in isolated city neighborhoods with little or no opportunity for meaningful employment or educational success.

Since passage of the Civil Rights Act 25 years ago, Americans have come to believe that equality of opportunity exists for all its citizens. This view has been bolstered by the belief that government and society have done enough, if not too much, for blacks and it is time for blacks to help themselves.

Yet, despite the significant gains in education, employment and income made by African Americans in the past two decades, recent trends indicate that an increasing number of youth, particularly young black males, are experiencing higher rates of poverty, school failure, incarceration and economic dislocation.

In the face of the longest economic recovery since World War II, the real earnings of young black men have dropped by 30 percent. Inner city job shifts have created a startling growth of young black men who have dropped out of the labor market completely. And as economic security eludes greater numbers of these youth, young black men and women are delaying or abandoning marriage altogether.

While the number of black males who graduate from high school has risen during the past decade, the proportion who go on to college has declined. Data presented today will show that a significant

barrier to educational success for many black male elementary and secondary students is the dramatic gap between their abilities, their aspirations, and the expectations of failure held by their teachers.

When policymakers try to reconcile a belief in equal opportunity with the gnawing reality that low income black youth are faring worse, there is a tendency to view the problem as self-induced. There is a stereotype of young black men, fueled by the media, that presents them as not worth helping. The images flashed upon the TV screen or spread across the newspaper are of youth who are sexually irresponsible, violent, involved in drugs and other criminal acts and whose values lie outside of the mainstream.

This stereotype ignores many African American men who are good fathers, husbands, and who have achieved success in a multitude of professions, often against tremendous odds. This perception also ignores those who struggle daily to survive in poverty without the training or opportunity for gainful employment.

The perception that low-income black youth are to blame for their impoverished circumstances obscures the increasing number of African American youth who are growing up in an inner city more isolated from opportunity, more ridden with drugs, more violent than ever before. While the ghetto was once a place of low cost housing adjacent to entry level employment, today it stands distant from the booming suburban economies, housing a third or even a fourth generation of under or unemployed Americans. Even more distressing is that over the past two decades the number of inner city ghettos has more than doubled.

In its ongoing investigations, the select committee has explored the needs of very young black children in several cities, most recently New Orleans. We have listened to single mothers, to teenagers involved in gangs and to health and service providers describe their courageous efforts to surmount the chaos they confront in many inner city neighborhoods.

Today we will consider the effects of that chaos on young African American men. Economists, educators, psychologists, anthropologists and community activists will outline both the structural barriers which restrict their potential and the need to develop economic opportunities and a positive self image that can survive the systematic assaults on the dignity and wellbeing of America's young black men.

[Opening statement of Congressman George Miller follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE MILLER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AND CHAIRMAN, SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES

The Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families is meeting today to address the needs of many of America's young black men who live in isolated city neighborhoods, with little or no opportunity for meaningful employment of educational success.

Since passage of the Civil Rights Act twenty-five years ago, Americans have come to believe that equality of opportunity exists for all its citizens. This view has been bolstered by the belief that government and society have done enough, if not too much, for blacks and that it is time for blacks to help themselves.

Yet, despite the significant gains in education, employment and income made by African Americans in the past two decades, recent trends indicate that an increas-

ing number of youth, particularly young black males, are experiencing higher rates of poverty, school failure, incarceration, and economic dislocation.

In the face of the largest economic recovery since World War II, the real earnings of young black men have dropped by 30 percent. Inner city job shifts have created a startling growth of young black men who have dropped out of the labor market completely. And as economic security eludes greater numbers of these youth, young black men and women are delaying or abandoning marriage altogether.

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When policymakers try to reconcile a belief in equal opportunity with the gnawing reality that low-income black youth are faring worse, there is a tendency to view the problem as self-induced. There is a stereotype of young black men, fueled by the media, that presents them as not worth helping. The images flashed upon the TV screen or spread across the newspapers are of youth who are sexually irresponsible, violent, involved in drugs and other criminal acts, and whose values lie outside of the mainstream.

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BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICA'S YOUNG BLACK MEN

A FACT SHEET

HIGH BLACK POVERTY RATES PERSIST; BLACK POOR GET POORER

- Between 1978-1987, the black poverty rate increased from 30.6% to 33.1%. Between 1986-1987, the black poverty rate rose while the white poverty rate declined slightly. (Census, 1989)

- In 1987, one-third of all black males 15-24 lived in poverty compared to 10% of all white males in that age group. (Census, 1989)

- In 1987, 45% of all low-income blacks had incomes below half the poverty line -- 69% more than in 1978. (Center on Budget Policy and Priorities, 1988)

- Blacks are eight times more likely than nonblack persons to be persistently poor -- 21.1% compared with 2.7%. (Census, 1989)

UNDERCLASS AREAS DOUBLE IN RECENT YEARS

- Between 1970-1980, there was a nearly 200% increase in the number of "impacted ghettos" -- geographic areas with high rates of male unemployment, female-headed families, teenage dropouts, and households receiving welfare. (Hughes, 1989)

- Between 1970-1980, for the 50 largest U.S. cities, the concentration of poor persons living in underclass areas increased from 16% to 24%. (Hughes, 1989)

- Blacks make up 40% of all urban poor and 60% of the poor in "underclass" areas. Poor blacks are five times more likely to live in an extremely poor neighborhood than are poor whites -- 36% compared with 7%. (Hughes, 1989)

ECONOMIC SHIFTS REDUCE BLACK EARNINGS AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

* Between 1973-1986, the proportion of employed black males 18-29 working in a manufacturing job declined by 43%, from 36% to 20%. (Sum, Fogg, 1989)

* Between 1970-1980, nearly half a million lower-skill jobs left the cities of Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia, while close to two million new jobs were added in the suburbs. (Kasarda, 1989)

* Between 1973-1986, the real average earnings of black males 18-29 fell by 31%, from $10,778 to $7,447, compared to declines of 14% and 20%, respectively, for white and Hispanic males of the same ages. (Sum, Fogg, 1989)

* Between 1973-1986, the number of black, non-Hispanic males 18-29 employed year-round, full-time fell by 20%, from 44% to 35%. By contrast, the number of white and Hispanic males in this age group employed year-round, full-time increased slightly to 57% and 53%, respectively. (Sum, Fogg, 1989)

* Between 1973-1986, the number of black males 18-29 not in the labor market doubled from 13% to 25%, compared to a much smaller increase for white males, from 6% to 8%. (Sum, Fogg, 1989)

YOUNG BLACK MALES HAVE LOWER MARRIAGE RATES

* In 1988, 42% of black 29 year olds had not yet married for the first time, compared with 33% in 1980. By contrast, 25% of all white 29 year olds had not yet married, up from 17% in 1980. (Census, 1989)

* In 1988, 23% of black, non-Hispanic men 20-29 were married compared with 35% and 36%, respectively, of white and Hispanic males. (Sum and Fogg, 1989)

* In a survey of nearly 2,500 inner-city residents in Chicago, employed fathers were twice as likely as unemployed or non-employed fathers to marry the mother of their first child. (Testa, 1989)

- In 1984, 27% of all black males 19-26 had been an unwed father at some time. (Lerman, 1986)

- In 1987, 52% of all black families with children were headed by a mother-only compared with 18% of all white families and 29% of all Hispanic families. (Census, 1989)

- Between 1975-1986, the percent of all black births occurring outside of marriage increased from 49% to 61%. (Child Trends, 1989)

POOR BLACK MALES FACE MAJOR OBSTACLES TO EDUCATION, COLLEGE

- Between 1976-1986, despite increases in overall minority enrollment, including black female enrollment, college enrollment rates of black males 18-24 declined from 35% to 28%. (American Council on Education, 1989)

- When controlled for family income, black and white high school dropout rates are remarkably similar; poor blacks have a slightly lower dropout rate than poor whites, 24.6% and 27.1%, respectively. (Children's Defense Fund, 1987)

- In high schools, black students are suspended about three times more often than whites. (Joint Center for Political Studies, [JCPS], 1989)

- In 1980, black children were three times more likely than white children to be placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded, and only one half as likely to be in classes for the gifted and talented. (JCPS, 1989)

- While black students comprise 16% of elementary and secondary public school enrollments, only about 8% of public school teachers are black. (JCPS, 1989).

BLACK MALES AT GREATER RISK OF ARREST AND INCARCERATION

- Black juvenile males are more than 4 times as likely to be referred and incarcerated for a violent offense than are white

male juveniles. (National Center for Juvenile Justice, 1988; National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1987).

- In 1987, 39% of youth held in custody were black, a 15% increase since 1985. (Department of Justice, 1988).

- In 1984, despite representing only 15% of the U.S. population under 18, young black males represented 45%, 54%, 68%, and 39%, respectively, of the juvenile arrests for murder/nonnegligent homicide, manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. (FBI, 1984).

- The lifetime chance of incarceration is six times higher for blacks than it is for whites. (DOJ, 1988)

YOUNG BLACK MEN AT HIGH RISK OF DEATH FROM VIOLENCE, SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND AIDS

- The median age of black male central city residents is 24 years compared to the national median age of 32.3. (Census, 1989)

- Homicide is the leading cause of death for black males, 15-24. A black male has a 1 in 21 chance of being murdered before age 25. (National Center for Health Statistics, 1988; Centers for Disease Control [CDC], 1986).

- In 1984, blacks comprised 30% of male drug abuse deaths. (National Institute on Drug Abuse, [NIAD], 1986)

- In 1984, among persons reporting to emergency rooms for drug abuse, blacks were more than twice as likely (38.6%) as whites (14.9%) to be drug dependent. (NIAD, 1986)

- Although black men are 12% of the male population 13-24, they represent 35% of the AIDS cases for this age group. (CDC, 1989)

July, 1989

Chairman MILLER. Our panel this morning, and we will take all the witnesses as one panel, will be made up of Dr. Andrew Sum, who is the Director of the Center for Labor Market Studies at Northeastern University; Dr. Antoine Garibaldi, who is the Chairman and Associate Professor of Education from Xavier University; Dr. Joan Davis Ratteray, who is the President of the Institute of Independent Education; Dr. Wade Nobles, who is the Director of the Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture from Oakland, California; Dr. Mercer Sullivan, who is the Senior Research Associate of Vera Institute for Justice in New York; and Donald R. Lewis who is the Director of the Nehemiah Project from Annandale, Virginia.

If you'd come forward—and welcome to the Committee—and come up to the witness table, we will take your testimony in the order in which I called your name and you appear on the witness list.

Let me begin by welcoming you. Your written statements will be placed in the record of this hearing in their entirety and you should feel free to proceed in the manner in which you are most comfortable and which you think will best convey to the Committee the essence of your message this morning.

So, again, welcome.

STATEMENT OF ANDREW M. SUM, PH.D., DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR AMS LABOR MARKET STUDIES, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY, BOSTON, MA

Dr. SUM. Thank you.

The focus of my remarks this morning will be on the real annual earnings and employment experiences of young black men in the 1980's, with appropriate comparisons between the experiences of those young men and other young males in American society and with trends in the 1970's.

Now, the focus of my remarks is young adult men as defined by those who are in the 20 to 29 age group. The findings pertain only to those young men who are members of the civilian, noninstitutional population. That means that I'm excluding members of the Armed Forces and inmates of jails and prisons. Among young black men, approximately eight out of 100 would be members of the Armed Forces and approximately five in 100 would be members of state, federal or local prisons and jails. So, that 13 percent of the population is not taken into consideration in my remarks.

Now, my remarks will heavily focus on annual earnings. The real annual earnings of young men, I believe, is a desireable indicator of their labor market success for two reasons. One is the fact that one's annual earnings are influenced by a variety of labor force factors. How strongly you're attached to the labor force, how many weeks and hours of employment you obtain during the year and the hourly earnings you received when employed will all influence annual earnings.

Each of those measures is an important measure of labor market success by itself, but taken together will influence one's real annual earnings during the year.

But second, annual earnings also exert a substantive influence on living arrangements of young men, their marital status, and the economic conditions of their families and children.

If there's a theme underlying my remarks, I would argue that the theme is as follows: that American society over the last 15 years has been characterized by an extension of the period of economic adolescence, that this extension of the period of economic adolescence for young men is characterized by greater difficulties in finding year-round full-time employment and getting access to career jobs that can support families and children. The extension of this period of adolescence has been greater for black men than for white and Hispanic men, but has affected all race/ethnic groups. Second, the extension of adolescence is much greater among those black men with no postsecondary schooling.

Now, given that, the basic findings in my presentation are as follows. If we look at 1987, which is the most recent year for which annual earnings data are available, among all 20 to 29 year old black men, mean earnings during that year was slightly under $10,000.

Now, there's substantial variability in those earnings among young black men. The average young black male high school dropout had earnings of about $5600.00, $10,000 for high school graduates, and $18,000 for college graduates. Now, I don't want to imply, while those real earnings are quite low, that there's been no improvement in the earnings of young black men during the economic expansion over the past five years. Since 1982, black men have benefited from the expansion of the economy. We estimate that real annual earnings of young black men are up about 25 percent in that 5-year period.

However, relative to 1979, the previous peak year before the 1980 recession, black men's earnings were still 15 percent below 1979 and 28 percent below 1973.

Now, the patterns for black men are similar to those for white and Hispanic men. Young white men and young Hispanic men have also experienced declines in real annual earnings over this time period. However, black males have fared the worst over the past 15 years. The losses in real earnings among young black men are not uniform. They are most severe among young high school dropouts, followed by high school graduates and then college graduates. Males with no postsecondary schooling have been most adversely affected by all these changes in the economy.

Now, given those declines in earnings, one has to ask what are the sources of those declines. Real earnings of young black men have declined from a multiplicity of sources, but the three most important ones are the following:

One is that there has been a rise in the fraction of young black men with no reported earnings at all during the year. In 1987, 18 percent of all black men 20 to 29 years old reported no positive earnings. That's double the 1973 level.

Second, when young black men are employed, they are less likely to work year-round, full-time, relative to their experiences in the early to mid 1970's. But nearly all that decline among young black men has occurred among those with no postsecondary schooling.

Third, when young black men are employed, their real hourly earnings have fallen, approximately 8 to 10 percent since 1979. But again, the wage declines have been most severe among those without any postsecondary education.

There are a variety of economic factors and forces at work here, but among those that have most adversely influenced young black men have been the structural changes in the economy that have diminished job opportunities in manufacturing sectors. Contrary to much popular wisdom, nearly three out of eight young black men were employed in the nation's manufacturing industries in 1973. That ratio is down to 20 percent.

The dominant industries employing young black men in America today are retail trade and private services. Those jobs, unfortunately, pay annual earnings about 20 to 25 percent below those earned by young men in the manufacturing sector. So, shifts in the industrial structure of jobs have had an adverse effect upon young black men, more so than among other groups in American society.

The decline in the real annual earnings of young men have had a number of devastating effects. One of them is, for example, the fact that of all age groups young men in American society are least likely to be covered by health insurance. Last year, we estimate that about 26 percent of all 20 to 29 year old men had no form of health insurance coverage, including Medicaid. But young, minority men are at greatest risk of having no coverage. Thirty-eight percent of young black men and 47 percent of Hispanic men lack health insurance coverage.

Among young black males, the absence of health insurance coverage is most severe for those with no postsecondary education. About half of all those who dropped out of high school and 40% of those who completed high school had no form of health insurance coverage.

Those earnings declines have also had an influence upon family living arrangements. In American society, the early to mid 1920's have always been formative years in the lives of young men. By age 22, as recently as 1974, half of all young men with a high school diploma and high school dropouts would have been married. The reductions in annual earnings that have occurred have been accompanied by changes in household living arrangements and by changes in marital behavior, particularly among black men and those with limited schooling.

Last year, we estimate that about five of every nine young black men were still living in households with parents or other relatives. Two-thirds of black high school dropouts and half of all black high school graduates had not yet formed independent households.

The effect on marriage has also been devastating. Since 1974, the decline in marriage rates among young black men has been most substantial. In 1974, the marriage rate among young black men was 42 percent. It had fallen to 23 percent by 1988, and the declines in marriage have been most severe among those black men without high school diplomas and only 12 years of schooling. Their marriage rates have fallen by half since 1974.

There is a variety of forces at work here in American society producing those delays in marriage and influencing the lower proportions of young men that are married. Economics is not everything

in life. However, our analysis suggests that marriage rates of all young men, and especially young black men, are most strongly correlated with their real earnings rather than with any other employment variable we have. The marriage rates of young black men rise uniformly with their real earnings, and somewhere between half to two-thirds of the black/white marriage differences we believe are due to differences in the real earnings position of young black men.

Improving the employment and real earnings position of young black men will not radically alter their immediate marriage behavior, but we believe that improving the real earnings of young black men is necessary for us to strengthen young black family life and reduce poverty among young black children.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much.

[Prepared statement of Dr. Andrew Sum follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ANDREW SUM, PH.D., NEAL FOGG CENTER FOR LABOR MARKET STUDIES, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY, BOSTON, MA

Introduction

The changing nature of the American economic landscape in the 1980's has been a difficult one to assess, given the divergent impacts of structural economic change on the employment and earnings situation of different subgroups of the American workforce. Our testimony today is designed to assess the changing economic fortunes of young Black males. Our focus is on young males in the 20-29 age group, a critical age group given the substantial changes that typically occur in the work lives, living arrangements, marital status, and childraising responsibilities of young men as they enter and move through their 20's. While our presentation will focus on Black male experiences in employment and real earnings during the 1980's, comparisons will be made with the labor market situation for young White and Hispanic men to place the findings for Black males in proper perspective. In addition, we will identify key employment and earnings trends for young Black men in selected educational attainment subgroups to highlight substantive differences in the labor market experiences of poorly educated and well educated Black men.

In analyzing the labor market position of young men, there are a diverse number of labor force, employment, and earnings measures that can be used. We will place primary emphasis on the real (inflation-adjusted) annual earnings of young adult men (20-29) over the 1973-87 period. Real annual earnings are a critical measure of labor market success since annual earnings are influenced by one's labor force attachment, weeks and hours of employment during the year, and real hourly wages. Annual earnings also influence the ability of young men to form independent households, marry, and support their children at an adequate standard of living.

The first part of our paper traces and assesses changes in the real annual earnings of young men (20-29 years of age) at different points in time between 1973 and 1987. Findings for Black men will be compared to those of other race/ethnic subgroups, and the divergent earnings experiences of men in different educational groups will be highlighted. The second part of our paper is devoted to an examination of the sources of these real annual earnings changes and the role of demographic and economic forces in producing these earnings patterns. The influence of these employment and earnings developments on the health insurance coverage, household living arrangements, and marital status of young adult men will be briefly examined in the third section. The final section provides a brief discussion of our major policy recommendations for improving the long-term employment and earnings prospects of young Black males over the remainder of this century.

Data Sources

The estimates of the annual earnings and employment experiences of young men appearing in this paper are largely based upon the authors' analyses of the March Current Population Survey (CPS) public use tapes for selected years from March 1974 to March 1988. The March CPS interviews contain a work experience supplement used to track the employment experiences and annual earnings of respondents during the preceding calendar year. The March 1988 CPS tape contained observations on nearly 11,500 civilian males in the 20-29 age group, including nearly 1,040 Black, non-Hispanics. The sample has been weighted to produce population estimates for the nation as whole. Males serving in the armed forces, those residing in institutions

(jails, prisons, mental hospitals), and the homeless are excluded from the analysis. The estimates of nominal annual earnings have been converted into real 1987 dollars with the use of the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U).

Trends in the Real Annual Earnings of Young Adult Men

Given that real annual earnings from employment is in most respects a superior measure by which to gauge and track changes in the economic well-being of young adult males, we need to assess changes in the real annual earnings position of all young males and young Black males over the past 15 years. Of all demographic subgroups of American males 20-64 years old, young adult men (20-29) have suffered the largest absolute and relative declines in their real annual earnings since 1973. Within this group, young Black men have fared the most poorly.

For the young adult male population, two further points are worthy of emphasis. First, although trends in most major labor market outcomes varied by age, race/ethnic and educational attainment subgroup, the losses in real annual earnings were not confined to one or two particular subgroups. That is, nearly all major subgroups of young adult males have suffered declines in their real annual earnings position since 1973. Second, within each age and race/ethnic subgroup, those young adult males with the least amount of formal schooling clearly have fared the worst.

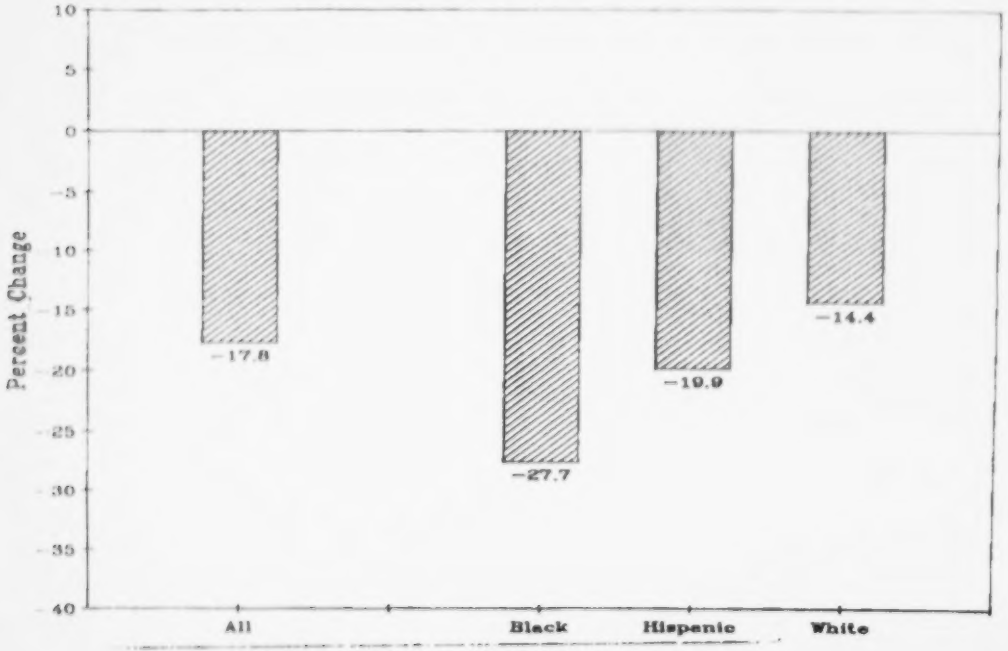
These two findings are highlighted in Table 1, which presents data on the mean real (inflation-adjusted) annual earnings of 20-29 year old civilian males in the non-institutional population for the

years 1973, 1979, 1982 and 1987. The year 1973 was chosen because it represents the post-war peak in the mean real annual earnings of young men. The year 1979 was chosen because it was a pre-recession peak year. The nation suffered a severe economic recession in 1982; thus, that year represents the bottom of an economic cycle. Finally, the year 1987 was chosen because it is the most recent year for which annual earnings data are available. The 1983-87 period was one of continuous economic and employment expansion in the U.S. As can be seen in Table 1, the extent to which young men were able to weather the stormy 1979-82 period and prosper during the 1983-87 expansion varied widely by demographic subgroup, with Blacks and those with the least formal education generally faring the worst. Most subgroups experienced severe real earnings losses over the 1979-82 period. Moreover, most of them never regained the level of real earnings which existed in the previous peak year, 1979, and most subgroups continue to obtain real annual earnings substantially below their 1973 levels.

Among the three major race/ethnic subgroups, young Black, non-Hispanic males experienced the largest declines in real annual earnings, losing on average $3,700, or 28%, over the 1973-87 period. Less severe earnings losses were experienced by Hispanics (20%) and White, non-Hispanics (14%). (See Chart 1). Although the earnings losses for the latter two groups were less severe, they were certainly important in their magnitude, highlighting the point that the erosion in real annual earnings among young adult males has not been confined to young Black males.

Table 1 also shows that the extent to which young adult males were able to avoid large earnings losses depended substantially on

Chart 1: Percent Change in the Mean Real Annual Earnings of 20–29 Year Old Males, by Race/Ethnic Group, U.S., 1973–1987

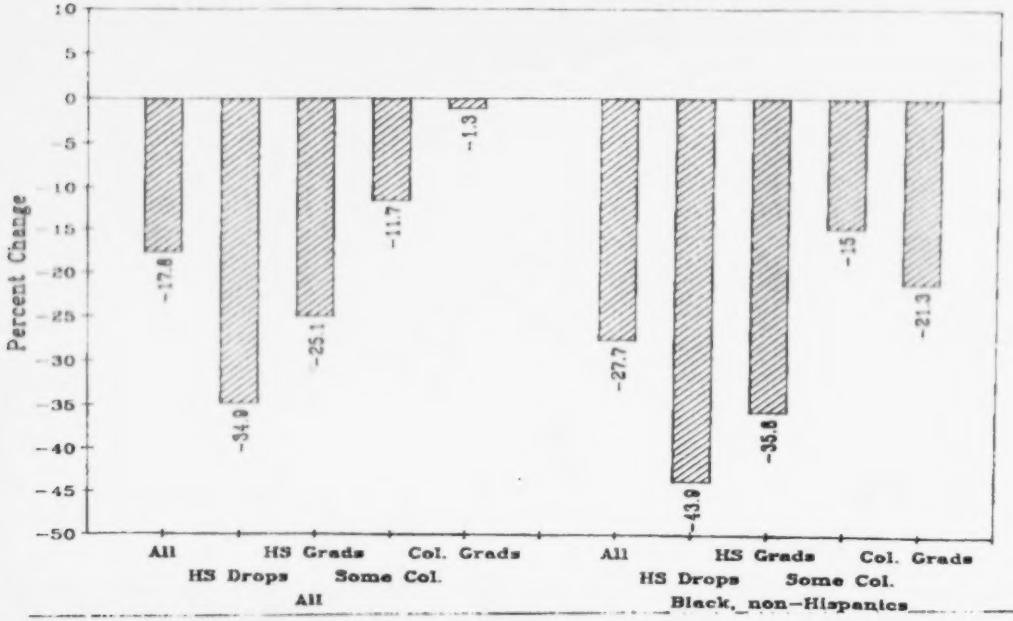


their educational attainment. The real annual earnings of young male high school dropouts fell on average by 35%, followed by high school graduates (25%) and those with some college (12%). Young male college graduates, on the other hand, lost only 1.3% of their mean real earnings. This pattern, with the least-educated suffering the largest relative earnings losses, held true for all race/ethnic subgroups (see Table 1 and Chart 2). Black male dropouts and high school graduates with no post-secondary schooling were the most adversely affected, with relative declines of 44% and 36%, respectively, in their real annual earnings over the 1973-87 period.

There are a number of diverse factors underlying the declines in the real annual earnings of young men presented in Table 1. From a labor market perspective, the decline in the mean real annual earnings can be attributed to three major sources. For any given individual, annual earnings are the result of three factors: the desire and ability to work at all during the year, the annual hours of employment for those who do work, and the hourly wages that they receive while employed. For those young adult men who do become employed, annual earnings can be found by multiplying annual hours of employment by mean hourly wages. For any given subgroup of young men, mean annual earnings will rise if a higher fraction of them do secure employment, if those that work are employed for a greater number of hours, or if real hourly wages rise. Of course, it is conceivable that declines in one source may be offset by increases in either of the other two sources.

The first source of the decline in the mean real annual earnings of young adult males is a rise in the fraction of young men who

Chart 2: Percent Change in the Mean Real Annual Earnings of 20–29 Year Old Males, by Educational Attainment, All and Black, non–Hispanics, U.S., 1973–1987



reported no earnings whatsoever during the calendar year. The rise in the fraction of young men with zero earnings was particularly severe among young Black males and those with the least amount of formal education. Other things equal, if higher fractions report no positive earnings, mean earnings will fall for the group as a whole. Data on the fraction of young males reporting no positive earnings are presented in Table 2. For calendar year 1987, 18% of young Black, non-Hispanic males reported no positive earnings, a rate twice as high as that prevailing in 1973. Although the fraction of young Black, non-Hispanic males with no reported earnings has declined from 26% in 1982 (a year of deep economic recession), the 18% rate of 1987 is still substantial, implying that nearly 1 of every 5 young Black males had no attachment to the paid labor force. The 1987 fraction of Black, non-Hispanic males reporting zero earnings was twice as high as that of Hispanics (9.4%) and three times as high as the share of White, non-Hispanics (5.7%). Although both Hispanics and White, non-Hispanics have experienced increases in the fraction of zero-earners relative to 1973, the size of these increases are not nearly as marked as those for Black, non-Hispanics. Clearly, employment and training policies designed to improve the annual earnings position of young Black males will need to address the problems of the nearly 1 in 5 Black men currently excluded from the economic mainstream.

The fraction of young men with no earnings has increased most among those with the least education (see Table 2). Among high school dropouts, the proportion with no reported earnings doubled between 1973 and 1987, rising from 6.5% to 13%. The fraction of high school graduates with zero earnings also is higher in the 1980s than it was

in 1973. In contrast, those young adult males with some college and young college graduates had roughly equivalent fractions of zero-earners in 1987 and 1973. Within the Black, non-Hispanic population, a staggering 3 of 10 high school dropouts reported zero earnings, a rate roughly 2.5 times as high as Black high school graduates and nearly 6 times as high as young Black male college graduates. The Black underclass clearly counts many of these low earning Black school dropouts as its core members.

Although the rise in the fraction of zero-earners can explain a part of the decline in the real annual earnings of young adult males, it clearly cannot explain all or even a major portion of the decline. As can be seen in Table 3, even when we exclude the zero-earners from our estimates, mean real earnings fell sharply among employed young adult males. The size of the earnings differentials among race/ethnic and educational attainment subgroups narrows somewhat, however, once these zero earners are excluded from the totals. The mean real annual earnings of young Black, non-Hispanic males who were employed at least one week during the calendar year declined by nearly 20% between 1973 and 1987, a relative decline roughly equal to that of Hispanics (18.4%) and somewhat above that for White, non-Hispanics (13.6%).

The second source of the decline in the mean real annual earnings of young men is the greater difficulties experienced by key subgroups of employed young men in securing year-round and year-round, full-time employment. It is important to emphasize, however, that not all young adult subgroups experienced declines in year-round full-time work. In particular, White, non-Hispanics and those young males with post-secondary schooling actually experienced increases in their year-round

full-time employment rates in the late 1980s relative to 1973 (see Table 4).

Among race/ethnic subgroups, employed young Black males suffered the most severe declines. In 1973, 58% of young Black males with some employment were employed year-round, full-time; however, the fraction doing so fell to 54.4% in 1987. Again, young Black high school dropouts experienced the largest drops in year-round, full-time employment rates, falling from 61.2% in 1973 to 51.4% in 1987.

The final source of the decline in mean real annual earnings is lower hourly wages for those who were employed. Although reliable estimates cannot be made for 1973, we can generate estimates of the mean real hourly earnings of 20-29 year old men for the years 1979 and 1987. These estimates appear in Table 6. As can be seen, young Black males experienced an 8% decline, or $0.65 per hour, in mean real hourly earnings over the 1979-87 period. Although the absolute and relative size of the mean real hourly earnings decline was lowest for young Black males, their mean real hourly earnings was far below that received by White, non-Hispanics.

Young male high school dropouts again experienced the largest relative decline in their hourly wage position, experiencing a 19% drop in their mean real hourly earnings. Young high school graduates followed next, experiencing a 17% decline. In contrast, young college graduates actually posted gains in mean real hourly earnings, rising on average by 4%.

To sum up the discussion thus far, the economic well-being of young adult males (20-29) in the U.S. has deteriorated in a number of important respects since 1973. This development represents a major

reversal of the situation during the preceding 14 year period. Between 1959 and 1973, the mean real annual earnings of young men (18-29) increased by 27% and among young Black men by 59%. Although the earnings declines since 1973 have occurred among nearly all major subgroups of young men, they have been more severe among Blacks than Whites and particularly devastating for those with the least amount of schooling. Among many male subgroups, and particularly among young Black males, large increases in the fraction with zero earnings, a decreased ability to find year-round and year-round full-time employment and reductions in real hourly wages have contributed to these real earnings losses.

The underlying causes of the above employment and earnings developments are diverse and difficult to disentangle. It does seem clear, however, that quantitative and qualitative changes in the supply side of the labor market cannot explain much of the magnitude or timing of declines in the labor market fortunes of young adult males. In quantitative terms, the growing absolute and relative numbers of young men could explain part of their labor market difficulties until the early 1980s; however, the recent declines in the absolute and relative size of the age cohort should be a force acting to raise relative employment opportunities and earnings rather than lowering them. In relative terms, the fraction of 20-64 year males accounted for by males in the 20-29 age group rose gradually from 29.8% in 1973 to a high of 31.5% in 1982. Since then, this fraction has been declining, falling to a low of 28.2% by 1988. The declining absolute and relative size of this age cohort might be described as a unique "window of opportunity" through which rates of

access to jobs, training and real earnings opportunities might be improved.

Qualitatively, there is little reason to believe that the current cohort of young adult males is either less educated or substantially less literate than 15 years ago. In fact, higher fractions of young adult men are staying in high school through graduation than was the case in 1973 and 1979. This is particularly true among young Black males. The fraction of young Black men categorized as high school dropouts has dropped significantly from 29.8% in March 1974 to 19.4% in March 1988.

In considering the potential demand side causes of the decline in the economic fortunes of young adult males, the experience of the 1982-1987 period has shown that sustained economic growth by itself is necessary but not sufficient for solving the employment and earnings problems of key subgroups of young men, especially Blacks, Hispanics and those with no post-secondary schooling. Despite the smaller size of the age cohort and the large numbers of net new jobs that have been created since the national economic recessions of 1980 and 1981-82, real earnings of many young males today lag well behind their 1973 and 1979 levels. In short, the problem does not seem to be one of generally insufficient job creation although there are clearly pockets in some of our central cities and non-metropolitan areas where a lack of jobs does pose significant problems. The main problem is that the jobs being created are markedly different in a number of important respects than the jobs of the past that provided career paths for many young men with no formal schooling beyond high school.

One important difference is the changing industrial distribution of new job opportunities, a long occurring development which has

accelerated somewhat in the 1980s. Evidence indicates that part of the declining labor market fortunes of young men with 12 or fewer years of schooling has been attributable to demand side shifts in the industrial composition of new job opportunities, given the lower real earnings and more limited training and advancement potential that often characterize these newer opportunities. Substantial employment losses in the nation's manufacturing sector in the late 1970s and early 1980s removed an important source of well-paying jobs for young men, particularly young Black men, who had become more concentrated than White men in the manufacturing sector by the early 1970s. In 1973, 3 of every 8 employed Black males aged 20-29 were employed in the nation's manufacturing sector, a ratio which fell to 1 in 5 by 1987 (see Table 5). The shift of Black men out of the durable manufacturing sector was particularly dramatic, with their share falling from 25% in 1973 to 10% in 1987. In 1987, the retail trade and service industries were the dominant employers of young Black men. The share of young Black males employed in retail trade rose from 10% in 1973 to 21% in 1987, while the share working in service industries increased from 17% to nearly 27%.

In an above average fraction of the newer jobs in the retail trade and service sectors, the small size of firms, the contingent nature of the employment relationship and the structure of firms' internal labor markets do not often permit formal or informal on-the-job training. Occupational upgrading and changes in job content that would facilitate higher productivity are relatively uncommon. Slow productivity growth and actual productivity declines in a number of such industries have not allowed the real wage growth necessary for

rising real earnings. The 1987 mean annual earnings of 20-29 year old males employed in retail trade and service sectors were 25% to 30% less than those of males working in manufacturing industries.

These structural changes in the industrial distribution of job opportunities are not the only explanation for declining earnings among young men. There have also been important changes in occupational staffing patterns within industries and firms, including manufacturing, which have tended to benefit those with greater amounts of formal schooling. Although these changes have enabled substantial numbers of net new jobs to be created for young adults in the professional, managerial and technical occupations, these jobs for the most part require at least several years of post-secondary education. Young male high school dropouts and high school graduates have faced a dwindling supply of career jobs offering the real earnings opportunities available to them in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Lack of Health Insurance Coverage Among Young Males

The employment and earnings difficulties of young adult men, especially minority males and high school dropouts, tend to be associated with other economic and social problems, including a lack of any form of health insurance coverage. While 35 to 37 million Americans of all ages lack health insurance or Medicaid coverage, the absence of any form of health insurance coverage is most acute among young adults. Since health insurance coverage among young men is closely tied to their employment position and access to career jobs, those young males experiencing the most severe employment problems are least likely to be covered by a health insurance plan.

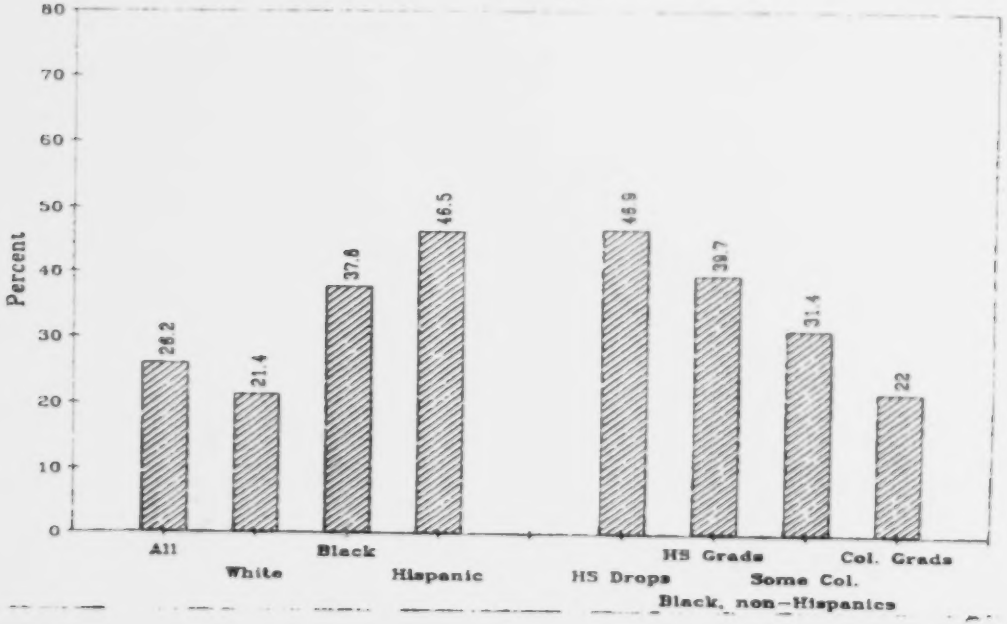
During March 1988, we conservatively estimate that 26% of all 20-29 year old males in the nation's civilian non-institutional population were not covered by a health insurance plan, including Medicaid. Minority males were at greatest risk of not being covered by health insurance. (Chart 3). Three of every 8 young Black males lacked health insurance coverage as did 46% of Hispanic men in the same age group. Among young Black men, the likelihood of being covered by health insurance varied sharply by years of schooling completed, a finding that was expected, given the substantial variations in real earnings and access to year round, full time jobs among young Black men with different amounts of schooling. Nearly 1 of every 2 young Black male school dropouts had no health insurance coverage versus 40% of high school graduates and 22% of Black college graduates.

Those young men at greatest risk of health problems including substance abuse are unfortunately the least likely to be covered by any form of health insurance. Limited real earnings and the absence of such essential employee benefits as health insurance also decreases the attractiveness of such men as marriage partners.

Changing Living Arrangements and
Marital Status of Young Black Men

As noted earlier, the early 20's traditionally have been a formative period in the lives of young adult men as they made the transition from the frequently unstructured youth labor market to career jobs. As their real earnings increased, young men in each educational attainment and race/ethnic group were more likely to form independent households, become married, and raise children. As the real earnings position of most young men deteriorated, the length of

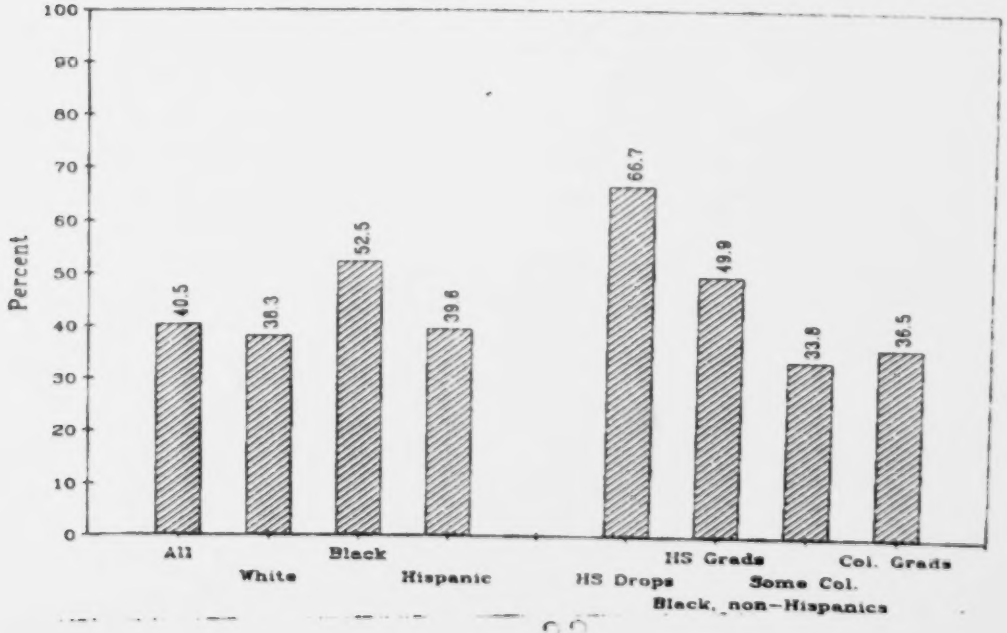
Chart 3: Percent of 20-29 Year Old Males With No Health Insurance Coverage, by Race/Ethnic Group and Black, non-Hispanic by Educational Attainment, U.S., March 1988



time to form independent households and marry has increased. Again, this phenomenon has occurred among all major subgroups of young adult males, however, those with the least formal schooling have been most affected by these developments (Table 7 and Chart 4). During March 1988, over half of all Black men 20-29 years old were living in families with one or both parents or with other relatives in which they were not the household head. The living arrangements of young Black men varied widely by their formal schooling. Two-thirds of young Black male dropouts and half of young Black high school graduates remained in a home with their parents or other relatives versus only one-third of Black college graduates. The prolonged period of economic adolescence has adversely affected the ability of a growing number of young Black men to live independently of their parents or other adult relatives.

Movement of young males into independent living quarters typically has been accompanied by changes in their marital status. As recently as 1974, a simple majority of all male high school graduates and dropouts would have been married and living with their spouses by age 22. Since then, the age at which a majority of young male school dropouts and graduates become married has risen to 27. The fraction of 20-29 year old males who were married and living with their spouses has declined from 53% in 1974 to 34% in 1988 (Table 8). The relative rate of decline in the marriage shares was most pronounced for young Black men, especially those young Black men with 12 or fewer years of formal schooling. By March 1988, only 23% of Black, non-Hispanic men between the ages of 20-29 were married versus 35% and 36% of Whites and Hispanics, respectively. Only 1 of 6 Black male high school

Chart 4: Percent of 20–29 Year Old Males Who Were Living With Parents or Other Relatives, by Race/Ethnic Group and Black, non-Hispanic by Educational Attainment, U.S., March 1988



dropouts and 1 of 4 high school graduates were married and living with their spouses during that month (Chart 5).

The declines in the marriage rates of young adult men are likely attributable to a variety of factors, including the improved labor market position of many well-educated women, changing cultural and social attitudes toward early marriages, and the increasing number of young adults sharing living quarters as partners before marriage. While recognizing the diversity of forces at play, we believe that the declines in the real earnings of key subgroups of young men, primarily those with no post-secondary schooling, have played a substantive role. Annual earnings of young Black men are strongly associated with their marital status. (Chart 6). During 1987, only 3% of young Black men with no earnings and 7% of young Black men (18-29) with earnings between 1 and $5,000 were married. This ratio increases consistently with the level of earnings, rising to 29% for those with earnings between $10 and $15,000, to 39% for those with earnings between $15,000 and $20,000, and to over 50% for those Black men with annual earnings over $20,000. Real annual earnings of young Black men, especially those with no post-secondary schooling, are more strongly correlated with their marital status than any employment variable over the past 15 years.

Delays in the age at first marriage may be quite desirable if they lead to more stable and lasting family relationships and if they are not accompanied by undesirable social side effects. Unfortunately, for a significant fraction of young Black men, the postponement of marriage has not been accompanied by a delay in fatherhood. Robert Lerman recently has estimated that one of four

Chart 5: Percent of 20–29 Year Old Males Who Were Married and Living With Their Spouses, by Race/Ethnic Group and Black, non–Hispanic by Educational Attainment, U.S., March 1988

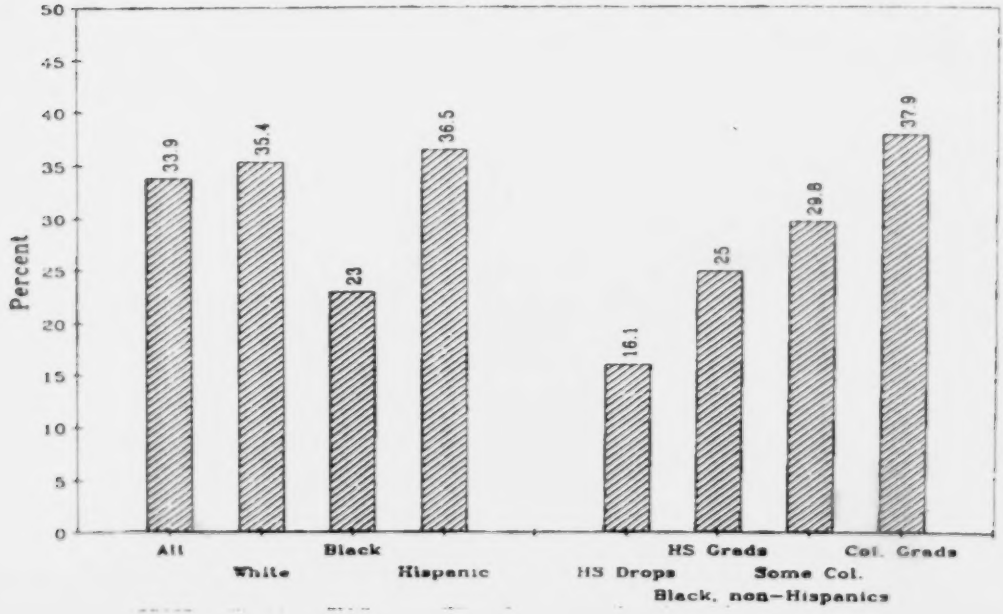
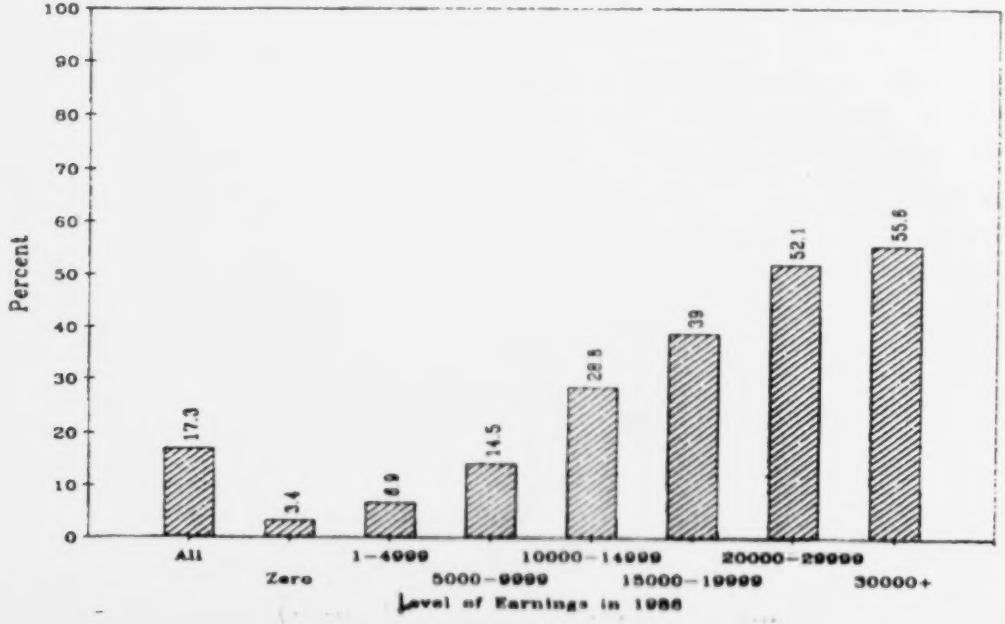


Chart 6: Percent of 18–29 Year Old Black, non–Hispanic Males Who Were Married and Living With Their Spouses, by Level of Earnings in 1986, U.S., March 1987



young Black men have become unwed fathers by age 26. The economic position of these unwed mothers and their children is extremely tenuous, and a relatively high fraction of them are at risk of long-term poverty in the absence of marriage or substantially strengthened labor market attachment.

Improving the real earnings position of young Black men may not radically alter their immediate marriage behavior; however, it should increase the likelihood that fathers will marry the mothers of their children or contribute to their financial support in a more substantive manner. Either way, a strengthened real earnings position for young Black men should promote family cohesion and reduce the poverty problems of young Black children. These are highly desirable national goals for the remainder of this century.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The above discussions have noted the existence of persistent and serious earnings problems among young Black males during the 1980's, with real earnings deficiencies most severe among those young Black male adults with no post-secondary schooling. Real earnings problems of America's young men, however, are not by any means confined to Blacks; however, they clearly have fared worst in the New American Economy of the 1980's.

The earnings problems of young Black men are attributable to a number of different factors, including continued educational and literacy deficiencies, their more limited work exposure during their teen years and early 20's, the more depressed economic environments in which they reside, the industrial and occupational employment shifts that have taken place in the national economy, and the relatively low

earnings opportunities available to Black males in a number of the expanding industrial sectors. Effectively addressing this set of employment and earnings problems will be a complex and formidable task; however, at this juncture in our history, the nation can ill afford to ignore the substantial personal and social costs accompanying the employment and earnings difficulties of many young Black men. Ameliorating these conditions will require coordinated and continuous actions and investments on a variety of fronts, with shared responsibilities for such investments among these young men, their families, the nation's primary and secondary schools, our training institutions, private and public employers, and the state and national government. Among the most important changes needed to strengthen the employment and earnings position of young Black males are the following:

(i) Further reductions in the proportion of young Black men who enter adulthood without a high school diploma. Substantive progress has been achieved in this area over the past 15 years; however, approximately 1 of 5 young Black males (20-29) still lacked a high school diploma in 1988. While keeping them in high school, more intensive efforts must be made to bolster their basic literacy proficiencies and provide them with greater exposure to the labor market.

(ii) Young Black high school graduates not going on to college continue to experience major problems in gaining access to full-time, year round jobs in their early adult years and, thereby, obtain limited real earnings. Lack of substantive training and earnings opportunities reduces the quantity and quality of the work experience

that they bring with them into their mid-20's, diminishes the economic rewards associated with staying in school, and increases the relative attractiveness of illegal economic activities. A strengthened school-to-work transition system that would organize job and training opportunities for all of the nation's high school graduates, but especially Black males, is clearly needed.

(iii) Increased weeks and hours of work by themselves can boost the real annual earnings of many young Black men; however, greater attention must also be paid to the productivity of young males. Sustained productivity gains, especially in the trade and private service sectors, are key to raising the real hourly wages of young men. The frequent limited availability of structured training opportunities for the non-college educated worker and the near complete absence of apprenticeship opportunities in the above sectors reduce the potential for young men to acquire the training breadth and depth needed to raise their productivity and support higher real wages and more remunerative fringe benefit packages. A major expansion of post-secondary cooperative work/school programs and apprenticeship opportunities for young men in these industries should be established as a national policy goal between now and the year 2000. Too many of our existing employment and training programs provide "brief encounters" with young men that are frequently benign but of limited effectiveness as a tool for substantially boosting earnings.

(iv) While the employment and earnings experiences of young Black male college graduates remain quite favorable in comparison to their counterparts with only a high school diploma, there remain substantial gaps between the college attendance and graduation rates of young

Black and White, non-Hispanic males. During March 1988, nearly 37% of White, non-Hispanic males 18-24 years old either were attending college or were a four-year college graduate. In comparison, only 24% of Black, non-Hispanic males were either enrolled in college or a college graduate. Further efforts to reduce these college enrollment rate differentials must be made if Black/White male earnings gaps are to be narrowed over the remainder of this century.

(v) The declines in the real earnings position of many young Black men have been accompanied by changes in their living arrangements, their marital status, and the structure of young Black families. Economic forces are not the only ones at work here; however, given the associations between the real earnings and marital status of young Black men, we believe that an improvement in the real earnings position of young Black men holds the key to improvements in the economic and social position of young Black families and their children. Renewed efforts to strengthen young family life through expanded housing support, health insurance coverage, child care, and tax credits for children should accompany efforts to improve the employment and real earnings situation among the nation's young Black men. Investing in families as units and strengthening the financial position of young married couple families with children should be assigned a national priority with clear quantifiable objectives for the Year 2000.

Table 1: Trends in the Mean Real Annual Earnings of 20-29 Year Old Civilian Males, by Age Subgroup, Race/Ethnic Group and Educational Attainment, U.S., Selected Years 1973-1987 (in 1987 Dollars)

Age:	1973	1979	1982	1987	Absolute Change 1973-87	Percent Change 1973-87
All, 20-29	$17,341	$16,067	$12,842	$14,255	-3086	-17.8%
20-24	$12,610	$12,069	$ 8,939	$ 9,464	-3146	-24.9%
25-29	$22,611	$20,391	$16,808	$18,390	-4221	-18.7%
Race/Ethnic Group:						
White, non-Hispanic	$18,118	$17,014	$13,903	$15,508	-2610	-14.4%
Black, non-Hispanic	$13,273	$11,280	$ 7,671	$ 9,595	-3678	-27.7%
Hispanic	$14,330	$13,240	$10,576	$11,483	-2847	-19.9%
Educational Attainment:						
H.S. Dropouts	$14,650	$12,347	$ 8,590	$ 9,539	-5111	-34.9%
H.S. Graduates	$19,568	$17,634	$13,614	$14,661	-4907	-25.1%
Some College	$18,052	$18,022	$15,229	$15,938	-2114	-11.7%
College Graduates	$23,640	$22,083	$20,466	$23,321	- 319	- 1.3%
White, non-Hispanic:						
H.S. Dropouts	$16,525	$13,710	$ 9,678	$10,851	-5674	-34.3%
H.S. Graduates	$20,217	$18,600	$14,521	$15,783	-4434	-21.9%
Some College	$18,305	$18,443	$16,136	$16,467	-1838	-10.0%
College Graduates	$23,802	$22,291	$21,012	$23,958	+ 156	+ 0.7%
Black, non-Hispanic:						
H.S. Dropouts	$10,003	$ 8,221	$ 4,456	$ 5,608	-4395	-43.9%
H.S. Graduates	$15,740	$12,266	$ 8,610	$10,112	-5628	-35.8%
Some College	$15,572	$16,179	$10,118	$13,239	-2333	-15.0%
College Graduates	$22,543	$19,281	$14,611	$17,743	-4800	-21.3%
Hispanic:						
H.S. Dropouts	$12,365	$11,352	$ 8,869	$ 9,151	-3214	-26.0%
H.S. Graduates	$16,655	$15,420	$12,413	$12,686	-3969	-23.8%
Some College	$17,566	$16,100	$13,761	$15,102	-2464	-14.0%
College Graduates	$22,333	$20,095	$18,629	$19,595	-2738	-12.3%

Note: Data on educational attainment excludes those who cited school as their major activity in March.

Table 21 Percent of 20-29 Year Old Civilian Males Who Reported Zero Earnings, by Age Subgroup, Race/Ethnic Group and Educational Attainment, U.S., Selected Years 1971-1987

	1971	1979	1982	1987	Absolute Change, 1971-87
Age:					
All, 20-29	5.6%	6.5%	10.6%	8.0%	+2.4
20-24	7.5%	8.1%	12.5%	10.0%	+2.5
25-29	3.5%	4.7%	8.7%	6.2%	+2.7
Race/Ethnic Group:					
White, non-Hispanic	4.9%	4.9%	8.0%	5.7%	+0.8
Black, non-Hispanic	9.2%	14.9%	26.1%	18.3%	+9.1
Hispanic	7.2%	7.7%	11.2%	9.4%	+2.2
Educational Attainment:					
H.S. Dropouts	6.5%	10.3%	17.4%	13.0%	+6.5
H.S. Graduates	3.2%	3.1%	7.4%	5.5%	+2.3
Some College	3.1%	3.2%	5.2%	3.4%	+0.3
College Graduates	2.4%	2.1%	4.0%	2.4%	0.0
White, non-Hispanic:					
H.S. Dropouts	5.0%	8.1%	13.6%	10.7%	+5.7
H.S. Graduates	2.9%	2.0%	5.7%	3.8%	+0.9
Some College	3.2%	2.8%	3.7%	2.8%	-0.4
College Graduates	2.2%	1.8%	3.0%	1.8%	-0.4
Black, non-Hispanic:					
H.S. Dropouts	12.3%	19.6%	38.3%	30.7%	+18.4
H.S. Graduates	4.4%	9.7%	18.8%	13.0%	+8.6
Some College	2.5%	6.0%	14.1%	7.2%	+4.7
College Graduates	2.1%	4.0%	17.6%	5.2%	+3.1
Hispanic:					
H.S. Dropouts	6.1%	7.2%	11.0%	8.0%	+1.9
H.S. Graduates	5.2%	4.0%	4.6%	8.1%	+2.9
Some College	3.4%	2.9%	4.3%	3.8%	+0.4
College Graduates	0.0%	3.9%	10.0%	4.0%	+4.0

Note: Data on educational attainment excludes those who cited school as their major activity in March.

Table 9: Trends in the Mean Real Annual Earnings of 20-29 Year Old Civilian Males Who Were Employed at Least One Week During the Year, by Age-Subgroup, Race/Ethnic Group and Educational Attainment, U.S., Selected Years 1973-1987 (in 1987 Dollars)

Age:	1973	1979	1982	1987	Absolute Change 1973-87	Percent Change 1973-87
All, 20-29	$18,321	$17,144	$14,300	$15,549	-2872	-15.7%
20-24	$13,593	$13,104	$10,187	$10,493	-3100	-22.8%
25-29	$23,344	$21,347	$18,262	$19,548	-3796	-16.3%
Race/Ethnic Group:						
White, non-Hispanic	$18,980	$17,861	$15,021	$16,393	-2587	-13.6%
Black, non-Hispanic	$14,602	$13,238	$10,370	$11,741	-2861	-19.6%
Hispanic	$15,469	$14,311	$11,918	$12,623	-2846	-18.4%
Educational Attainment:						
H.S. Dropouts	$15,545	$13,705	$10,366	$10,941	-4604	-29.6%
H.S. Graduates	$20,196	$18,193	$14,624	$15,464	-4732	-23.4%
Some College	$18,605	$18,537	$16,001	$16,464	-2141	-11.5%
College Graduates	$24,183	$22,488	$21,208	$23,861	- 321	- 1.3%
White, non-Hispanic:						
H.S. Dropouts	$17,255	$14,875	$11,134	$12,109	-5146	-29.8%
H.S. Graduates	$20,789	$18,980	$15,291	$16,349	-4440	-21.4%
Some College	$18,850	$18,875	$16,686	$16,900	-1950	-10.3%
College Graduates	$24,319	$22,625	$21,538	$24,375	+ 56	+ 0.2%
Black, non-Hispanic:						
H.S. Dropouts	$11,203	$10,131	$ 7,218	$ 8,093	-3110	-27.8%
H.S. Graduates	$16,553	$13,574	$10,603	$11,626	-4927	-29.8%
Some College	$16,188	$17,178	$11,786	$14,274	-1914	-11.8%
College Graduates	$23,017	$20,079	$17,737	$18,710	-4307	-18.7%
Hispanic:						
H.S. Dropouts	$13,203	$12,179	$ 9,967	$ 9,935	-3268	-24.8%
H.S. Graduates	$17,570	$16,061	$13,010	$13,736	-3834	-21.8%
Some College	$18,180	$16,577	$14,373	$15,669	-2511	-13.8%
College Graduates	$22,333	$20,904	$20,699	$20,402	-1931	- 8.6%

Note: Data on educational attainment excludes those who cited school as their major activity in March.

Table 4: Percent of Employed 20-29 Year Old Civilian Males Who Were Employed Full-Time Year Round, by Age Subgroup, Race/Ethnic Group and Educational Attainment, U.S., Selected Years 1971-1987

Age:	1971	1979	1982	1987	Absolute Change, 1971-87
All, 20-29	60.1%	58.9%	52.0%	60.4%	+0.3
20-24	47.7%	47.7%	39.8%	46.3%	-1.4
25-29	73.1%	70.5%	63.8%	72.1%	-1.0
Race/Ethnic Group:					
White, non-Hispanic	60.4%	60.0%	53.3%	61.9%	+1.5
Black, non-Hispanic	58.1%	53.6%	45.0%	54.4%	-3.7
Hispanic	60.6%	54.4%	50.5%	59.8%	-0.8
Educational Attainment:					
H.S. Dropouts	61.2%	50.6%	43.0%	51.4%	-9.8
H.S. Graduates	70.5%	65.7%	56.5%	68.3%	-2.2
Some College	61.5%	64.2%	58.4%	65.0%	+3.5
College Graduates	66.4%	71.5%	70.2%	72.7%	+6.3
White, non-Hispanic					
H.S. Dropouts	63.1%	51.7%	43.5%	52.5%	-10.6
H.S. Graduates	71.3%	67.1%	58.0%	70.2%	-1.1
Some College	61.5%	64.5%	59.5%	65.4%	+3.9
College Graduates	66.0%	72.3%	71.0%	73.8%	+7.8
Black, non-Hispanic					
H.S. Dropouts	55.2%	44.6%	34.6%	35.9%	-19.3
H.S. Graduates	66.1%	56.9%	45.1%	61.5%	-4.6
Some College	58.5%	66.9%	54.7%	62.4%	+3.9
College Graduates	72.2%	66.6%	71.6%	65.3%	-6.9
Hispanic					
H.S. Dropouts	59.4%	50.8%	47.9%	56.6%	-2.8
H.S. Graduates	67.4%	62.6%	56.7%	64.5%	-2.9
Some College	63.6%	57.7%	57.0%	67.4%	+3.8
College Graduates	70.4%	58.0%	58.6%	69.1%	-1.3

Note: Data on educational attainment excludes those who cited school as their major activity in March.

Table 5: Percent Distribution of Employed 20-29 Year Old Civilian Males, by Major Industry of Longest Job Held During Year, All and Black, non-Hispanic, U.S., 1973 and 1987

	ALL		BLACK, NON-HISPANIC	
	1973	1987	1973	1987
Farm, Forestry, Fishing, Mining	4.8%	5.2%	3.5%	3.6%
Construction	11.9%	13.0%	8.8%	8.4%
Manufacturing, All	29.2%	21.3%	36.7%	20.1%
Durable Mfg.	19.1%	13.0%	24.2%	10.4%
Nondurable Mfg.	10.1%	8.3%	12.5%	9.7%
Transp., Comm., Util.	7.7%	7.1%	9.8%	8.3%
Wholesale Trade	4.8%	5.0%	4.6%	2.8%
Retail Trade	15.1%	19.5%	10.2%	21.0%
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	3.8%	4.2%	3.0%	4.3%
Services	17.8%	21.4%	17.0%	26.5%
Public Admin.	4.8%	3.3%	6.4%	4.9%

Table 6: Trends in the Mean Real Hourly Earnings of 20-29 Year Old Civilian Males Who Were Employed at Least One Week During the Year, by Race/Ethnic Group and Educational Attainment, 1973 and 1987 (in 1987 Dollars)

	1979	1987	Absolute Change 1973-87	Percent Change 1973-87
Age:				
All, 20-29	$9.40	$8.31	-$1.09	-11.6%
Race/Ethnic Group:				
White, non-Hispanic	$9.67	$8.62	-$1.05	-10.9%
Black, non-Hispanic	$7.92	$7.27	-$0.65	- 8.2%
Hispanic	$8.18	$6.92	-$1.26	-15.4%
Educational Attainment:				
H.S. Dropouts	$7.79	$6.32	-$1.47	-18.9%
H.S. Graduates	$9.41	$7.81	-$1.60	-17.0%
Some College	$9.60	$8.62	-$0.98	-10.2%
College Graduates	$11.32	$11.75	+$0.43	+ 3.8%

Note: Data on educational attainment excludes those who cited school as their major activity in March.

Table 7

Percent of 20-29 Year Old Males Who Were Living With Parents or Other Relatives, by Race/Ethnic Group and Educational Attainment, March 1974, March 1980, and March 1988

Group	(A) March 1974	(B) March 1980	(C) March 1988
All	32.1	36.7	40.5
Race/Ethnic			
o White, not Hispanic	30.7	33.5	38.3
o Black, not Hispanic	44.1	48.5	52.5
o Hispanic	30.0	30.7	39.6
o Other, not Hispanic	31.3	47.3	50.2
Educational Attainment			
o Enrolled in School	68.9	72.4	73.4
o Less than 12	30.1	36.9	41.7
o 12	28.0	33.7	39.5
o 13-15	28.6	28.6	36.5
o 16 or More	16.4	16.9	22.7
Black, not Hispanic			
o Enrolled in School	74.1	70.9	85.7
o Less than 12	52.9	58.4	66.7
o 12	37.1	47.4	49.9
o 13-15	32.5	32.1	33.8
o 16 or More	28.4	21.6	36.5

Table 8

Percent of 20-29 Year Old Males Who Are Married and Living With Their Spouses, by Race/Ethnic Group and Educational Attainment, March 1980 and March 1988

Group	(A) March 1974	(B) March 1980	(C) March 1988	(D) Percent Change 1974-88
All	53.3	42.4	33.9	-36.4%
Race/Ethnic Group				
o White, not Hispanic	54.9	43.7	35.4	-35.5
o Black, not Hispanic	41.5	29.1	23.0	-45.6
o Hispanic	55.1	49.7	36.5	-33.8
o Other, not Hispanic	38.7	34.9	28.2	-27.1
Educational Attainment				
o Enrolled in School	15.9	9.2	8.2	-48.5
o Less than 12	58.8	47.4	37.5	-36.3
o 12	60.4	47.6	37.8	-37.4
o 13-15	52.0	42.7	34.3	-34.1
o 16 or More	60.9	48.4	38.4	-37.0
Black, not Hispanic				
o Enrolled in school	13.6	5.6	4.2	-69.1
o Less than 12	35.1	25.7	16.1	-54.2
o 12	51.1	33.3	25.0	-51.1
o 13-15	43.4	35.3	29.8	-31.4
o 16 or More	47.5	41.3	37.9	-20.3

Chairman MILLER. Dr. Garibaldi.

STATEMENT OF ANTOINE GARIBALDI, PH.D., CHAIRMAN AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, XAVIER UNIVERSITY, NEW ORLEANS, LA

Dr. GARIBALDI. I would like to use my opening few minutes to highlight a few of the points which I've made in my written testimony regarding the importance of education to the future vocational success and earning potential of many young black men in our central cities.

The education problems of these young men begin early, are multi faceted and require the collective action of parents, teachers, local communities and the larger society to ameliorate the situation. Education is a primary key to improving their self-concept, their self-esteem, academic ability and their future economic opportunities. Without an education, they will not be able to compete in the work force and the longer we delay in addressing the symptoms and effects of the situation, the greater the probability becomes that fewer young black men will have employable skills and more black families will be fragmented and headed by single mothers.

The education and motivation of these young men, therefore, must become a moral and civic imperative.

As I have stated in my brief summary of a few of the statistics of the New Orleans study of black males which I chaired in 1987-88, these young men were disproportionately represented in almost all categories of academic failure. They accounted for 58 percent of the non-promotions, 65 percent of the suspensions, 80 percent of the expulsions and 45 percent of the dropouts in New Orleans, even though they represented only 43 percent of the total school population.

These signs of academic failure are very similar all across the country and most of these students begin to show signs of academic failure as early as the third and fourth grades. These regressions in educational performance inevitably lead to their dropping out or being suspended for behavioral problems as early as the seventh grade.

I might also note that there have been an average of 194,000 more black females than black males in college over each of these last ten years.

Obviously there is much to be done if we are sincerely committed to assuring educational excellence and realistic vocational opportunities for black male students. To solve this crisis situation, I propose that we must first raise their academic expectations and achievement; second, bridge the gap between the perceptions of teachers and the public and black male students' abilities and aspirations; and third, involve parents and the community in the motivation of these youth.

With respect to raising their academic expectations and achievements, they must be challenged and taught to believe that they can succeed. These expectations must be nurtured and reinforced by parents, by teachers, by the black community particularly and by the larger society as well, even though black males must contend daily with the distractions of negative peer pressure which commu-

nicates the message that schooling is not important and with the lure of immediate gratification and peer group recognition that come from engaging in illicit activities, as well as by the implicit and explicit messages of the media where "successful black males" are portrayed primarily as athletes and entertainers.

I am optimistic and hopeful that they can succeed as long as we reinstill and reinforce the importance of an education to their long-term financial stability. The more permanent rewards of delayed gratification can be internalized by these young men if, and only if, we recognize, promote and reward their academic achievement in school in the same way that we acknowledge their athletic prowess.

Tangible forms of recognition, as well as opportunities for leadership roles in academic pursuits are essential in our urban schools. Many young black men do want to finish school and many want to be challenged also, but we will have to give them the necessary motivation and guidance to make this a reality.

Second, we must close the widening perception gap and also the social distance that exists with respect to what the public believes black males can and want to learn and what these young men, in fact, know that they are capable of achieving. Negative self-fulfilling prophecies about black male students' intellectual abilities exist today in our schools as well as in our communities, but we must make sure that all teachers believe that all children can learn and succeed. Negative perceptions can be eliminated in schools if teachers set high expectations for these young men, give them leadership roles in schools and encourage them to pursue post secondary and vocational opportunities.

Last, the resolution of this crisis which black males are experiencing cannot be solved by teachers and school staff alone. There are equally important roles for parents, the black community and also the general public. Parents must motivate their male children to do well in school and also support their aspirations to attend college in the same way that they do for their female children.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Dr. Antoine Garibaldi follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ANTOINE M. GARIBALDI, PH.D., CHAIRMAN AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, XAVIER UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA, NEW ORLEANS, LA

EDUCATING AND MOTIVATING YOUNG BLACK MEN

Testimony prepared for the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families' hearing on "Young Black Men in the Central City: Isolated and in Trouble."

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to address your committee on the problems young black males experience in our urban schools and to focus on some of the critical issues that must be resolved in order for them to become productive citizens and financially secure adults. In the course of my remarks I will refer to some of the findings of a 10-month study and civic commission which I chaired for the New Orleans Public Schools in 1987-88 on the Status of the Black Male Student. The many adverse trends which we discovered in our analyses of the academic achievement and school progression of a large segment of New Orleans black male students emphasized to us that the education problems of these young men begin early, are multifaceted and require the collective action of parents, teachers, local communities and the larger society to ameliorate this situation. Thus, it is my firm contention that education is the primary key to improving the self concept, self esteem, academic ability and future economic opportunities of these young men in our central cities.

Before I discuss the educational condition of black male students, I would like to highlight a few of the indicators from national census data which demonstrate very clearly that we have reached a crisis of epidemic proportions with respect to the future survival of the black male and the future viability of the black family.

-- The median age of black men, according to the most available (1986) census statistics, is the lowest among all segments of the population at 25.5 years -- almost three years younger than black females (28.2), six years younger than white males (28.2), eight years younger than white females (33.9) and six years younger than the national median of 31.8 years of age.

-- In 1984, 20 percent of black men between the ages of 20 and 24 reported no income, compared to 8 percent in 1973. Of special note is the fact that 43% of those who reported no income in 1984 were school dropouts, compared to only 14 percent in 1973.

-- In 1986, 39.3 percent of all black 16 to 19 year olds were unemployed (compared to 18.3 percent nationally for this age group) and almost one-fourth (24.1 percent) of all 20 to 24 year old black males were unemployed compared to 10.7 nationally for this age group.

-- Black males represented 43 percent of the federal and state prisoner population in the United States in 1985 (216,344 of 494,678) even though they represented only 6 percent of the population.

-- And, black males are also more often the victims of homicides in this country, 50 percent higher than for white males, and they represented 33 percent, or 6616, of all homicides in this country in 1985.

The above data clearly demonstrate that there is a direct correlation between the educational achievement and attainment of young black men and their future vocational success and earning potential. Therefore, the only realistic, viable and systematic way for us to improve the life chances of these young men is by starting early in the home and in the schools. Without an education they will not be able to compete in the workforce. The longer we delay in addressing the symptoms and effects of this situation, the greater the probability becomes that fewer young black men will have employable skills and more black families will be fragmented and headed by single mothers.

In our study of black males in the New Orleans Public Schools, we saw that they were disproportionately represented in almost all categories of academic failure. While black males represented 43 percent of New Orleans' public school population in 1986-87, **they accounted for 58 percent of the non-promotions, 65 percent of the suspensions, 80 percent of the expulsions and 45 percent of the dropouts.** In terms of academic achievement, we also discovered that approximately a third of black male and female students scored in the lowest quartile on the reading and mathematics sections of the California Test of Basic Skills. (Only 13 and 18 percent of black males scored in the highest quartile on the reading and mathematics sections, respectively; and only 16 and 20 percent of black females scored in the highest quartile on reading and mathematics, respectively.)

New Orleans, however, is not an isolated example when we look at the dismal performance and low retention rates of black male students. These signs of academic failure are very similar all across this country and the problem is not limited to black male students. Most metropolitan schools are majority non-white already but it is even more apparent that black male students are faring very poorly throughout the educational continuum. Most of these students, as we

verified, begin to show signs of academic failure as early as the third and fourth grades and these regressions in educational performance inevitably lead to many young men dropping out or being suspended for behavioral problems as early as the seventh grade. Thus, the pool of those who eventually enter senior high school is very small and the proportion of those who actually graduate from high school is reduced considerably. We have seen the devastating effects of this situation in most of our metropolitan school districts and urban areas and the results have had a noticeable impact on the numbers of black males who have gone to college over the last ten years. **Analyses of those data show that there have been an annual average of 194,000 more black females than males attending college since 1976.** And the figure of more than one million black students is skewed even more by the fact that 43 percent of them are in two-year and community colleges where the rate of transfer to a college or university is barely 10 percent.

Obviously, there is much to be done if we are sincerely committed to assuring educational excellence and realistic vocational opportunities for all students in our central cities, but the challenge for black male students in particular is even greater. The elements of this solution, however, are much more fundamental than curricular and structural reforms in schools. **Chief among these solutions are: (1) raising the academic expectations and achievement of black male students; (2) bridging the gap between the perceptions of teachers and the public and black male students' abilities and aspirations; and (3) involving parents and the community in the motivation of these youth.**

Raising the Academic Expectations and Achievement of Black Male Students

In order for black male students to achieve in school, they must be challenged and taught to believe that they can succeed, regardless of where they live and even if they have not had a preschool education. These expectations must be nurtured and reinforced by parents, by teachers, by the black community and by the larger society as well. Evenmore, peers must be taught how to help and support their fellow students rather than ridiculing them when they experience occasional failure. Admittedly, it has become especially difficult to communicate to some black male students why they must obtain an education and do well in school. They are bombarded with the distractions of negative peer pressure which communicates the message that schooling is not important, by the lure of immediate gratification and peer group recognition that come from engaging in illicit activities, and also by the implicit and explicit messages of the media where "successful" black males are portrayed primarily as athletes and entertainers.

I continue to be astonished and disappointed, but not discouraged, by so many in our communities who say that it is unrealistic to expect black male students to do well in school when they daily see the materialistic accoutrements of drug dealers in their communities. Those who support those beliefs have obviously given up on these young persons' abilities. For that reason, it is the responsibility of the remainder of us who believe that there is hope to begin to reinstill and reinforce the importance of an education to longterm financial stability. In that vein, we must also teach these young men the more permanent rewards of delayed gratification. These values can be internalized by these young men but it will only occur if we recognize, promote and reward their academic achievement in schools in the same way that we acknowledge athletic prowess. Tangible forms of recognition, as well as opportunities for leadership roles in academic pursuits, are essential in our urban schools.

Despite the magnitude of this educational crisis, many young men are overcoming obstacles and ignoring peer pressure to do well in school. And contrary to conventional wisdom, many young men do want to finish school and many want to be challenged. In our survey of more than 2250 black male students, for example, 95 percent of them said they expected to graduate from high school but close to 40 percent of them said they believed that their teachers did not set high enough goals for them. Evenmore, 60 percent of them said they believed that their teachers should push them harder. Those findings suggest that black male students do want to be challenged to do well in school but we will have to give them the necessary motivation and guidance to make this a reality.

Bridging the Gap between the Perceptions of Teachers and the Public and Black Male Students' Abilities and Aspirations

Another major problem in our central cities, and society in general, is the tremendous perception gap that exists with respect to what the public believes black males can and want to learn and what these young men in fact know that they are capable of achieving. Negative self-fulfilling prophecies about black male students' intellectual abilities pervade our society as strongly today as they did for most non-white and poor youth prior to the days of equal educational opportunity in the mid 1960's. The euphemistic terms then were "lack of internal locus of control" which essentially ascribed and associated black and other non-white students' less than satisfactory performance in the classroom to the erroneous premise that they (black students) believed they had no control over their environment and social circumstances. Those unfounded premises then, which unfortunately still prevail, do no more than blame the victims for their misfortune and give no hope to those who want to escape from the hapless situation in which they find themselves. It is very disappointing though that some teachers in our urban

schools have developed preconceived notions about children's intellectual capabilities and potential instead of believing that all children can learn and succeed.

One of the most disturbing findings from our study in New Orleans, for example, came from teachers' responses to an item on a questionnaire we designed for them. When we asked teachers if they believed that their black male students would go to college, almost six out of every ten indicated that they did not believe that this would occur. What made this response more troubling was the fact that 60 percent of our random sample of 318 teachers taught in elementary schools, 70 percent had 10 or more years of experience, and 65 percent were black! Obviously, teachers' racial, ethnic or cultural affiliations do not make them immune from holding negative self-fulfilling prophecies about the children whom they teach. Nevertheless, the fact that some teachers hold lower expectations for non-white students in general, and black male students in particular, is undoubtedly a function of the different socioeconomic strata from which they and their students come, as well as the fact that their perceptions are influenced by what they see happening to the masses of male (and female), poor and non-white youth.

These negative perceptions, some of which may be subtle and unconscious, regarding children's abilities must be discussed honestly and openly in schools so that all children will have a fair chance to learn and succeed. Similarly, those teachers who have preconceived notions about black male students' academic abilities and aspirations must have a more open mind about their capabilities. They can also help them to set high expectations, give them leadership roles in schools and encourage them to pursue postsecondary and vocational opportunities.

The Civic Imperative: Parental and Community Responsibilities

The resolution of the crisis which black males are experiencing cannot be solved by teachers and school staffs alone. There are equally important roles for parents, the black community and also the general public. Parents must motivate their male children to do well in school and also support their aspirations to attend college in the same way that they do for their female children. The print and electronic media, which portray in advertisements and on television "successful" black males primarily as athletes and entertainers, have a moral responsibility to show other accomplished black male role models in business, education, the sciences, medicine, law and many other professions. Businesspersons too can support the aspirations of the male children of their employees by rewarding and/or acknowledging them for their academic success, daily attendance at school and particicipation in extracurricular clubs by giving them part-time or summer jobs for their hard work and effort.

Members of social and civic organizations, persons from blue-and white-collar professions, retired persons, religious leaders and many others can also be instrumental in encouraging black male students to stay in school and help them to appreciate the value of delayed gratification and also the importance of academic success to their future financial security. Evenmore, college students can also de-emphasize the apparent stigma which too many black male students associate with doing well in school by regularly visiting schools and establishing peer support networks. The federal government as well should continue to provide financial support for successful enrichment programs such as Upward Bound in schools and local communities, and also increase financial aid grants for young students who come from less advantaged homes so that more of them, and especially black males, can attend college.

CONCLUSION

This problem is too widespread for one solution and it is unrealistic to believe that only schools can ameliorate this situation. Collectively we can boost the self esteem and self concepts of these young men in our schools and their communities, increase their academic achievement and also raise their expectations and aspirations. But more concerted guidance from all segments of the community as well is necessary to reverse the negative trends which too many young black men are experiencing. Though many other non-white and female children are experiencing many of these sane problems, we must provide young black males especially with the incentives they need to obtain an education and to raise their levels of self-confidence. Moreover, we must enlist more individuals to make personal investments of their time to serve as mentors and help these young men to develop the intiative they need to compete in the workplace, to achieve their aspirations and to become productive citizens.

It must become our responsibility to tell them often that completing high school, obtaining a college education, becoming a teacher, a doctor or an entrepreneur is not only attainable but the probability is much smaller than becoming a professional athlete. Their educational success is equally important to the future stability and cohesiveness of black families and also our society in the next century. We need collective action now to address this problem, for as I wrote in the text of the final report of the New Orleans study on black males: **"The malady is too grave for a single prescription and the symptoms are too widespread for us to postpone treatment any longer."**

Copies of **Educating Black Male Youth: A Moral and Civic Imperative** can be obtained for $3 from the New Orleans Public Schools, Office of the Superintendent, 4100 Touro St., New Orleans, LA 70122 (Attention: Janice Kerner)

Chairman MILLER. Dr. Ratteray.

STATEMENT OF JOAN DAVIS RATTERAY, PH.D., PRESIDENT, INSTITUTE FOR INDEPENDENT EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, DC

Ms. RATTERAY. Yes, thank you.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, your concern for the state of education among African Americans is timely. We are now witnessing the cumulative effects of years of pedagogical failures, the tragic role of government in education policy making and the persistent themes of racism that has shaped our public attitudes over many years. These factors have effectively crushed the spirit and inhibited achievement by large numbers of African American students. It has affected our children, our teachers, and our school environments.

But on the other hand, Mr. Chairman, we at the Institute for Independent Education have found public and private schools in America where there are islands of hope in this desolate sea of education.

For the past 40 to 50 years, Americans have been bombarded with an increasing flurry of negative images about African American children. The pervasive deficit model that has shaped so many of our public and private policies has persisted from the founding of this Nation to the present. Some have even taken the position that African Americans have inherited no culture of their own, primarily because it did not take the same form as the written history of European Americans.

In the second half of the 20th century, we saw the revival of an early theme that African Americans have not taken well to socialization in American society, with specific reference to discipline in the classroom and the motivation to excel on measures of performance that are standardized on their mainstream peers. We were also told, by word and by deed, that African American youth had no learning and no intelligence to acquire it if it were given.

Our research at the Institute for Independent Education on enrollment patterns and standardized test scores in public schools for the 1988–89 school year shows the depth of this academic tragedy that afflicts African American students all across America. We have found that in many urban areas, especially where there are high concentrations of African Americans, extremely large percentages of African American students are virtually trapped in schools where students are below the national norm on reading and mathematics.

If students graduate without being able to read effectively, their ability to appreciate written material in their environment, much less the literature and history of their own cultural background, or even the written instructions to higher mathematical problems is guaranteed to keep them permanently at the bottom of the achievement ladder.

The few African-Americans who make it through high school are battered once more when they try to get advanced placement in college, based on the level of their achievement on the College Board's Advanced Placement Examination. We have found that as of 1988, at least 60 percent of African American candidates did not

qualify for placement, and thus were being screened out by the process, while White students had a more than 64 percent success rate.

African-American males, though, seem to have a better rate of success than females, in that 47 percent of the males who sit for the examination actually qualified, compared to 36 percent of the females. However, the total numbers of males is smaller than the number of females. For those who survive this ordeal, one which began in early elementary school, it is a tribute to their persistence, their inner strength, and perhaps other culturally-based qualities that we have yet to identify.

Nevertheless, in the public and private sectors there are some rays of hope. Among public schools, we have examined enrollment and test data for magnet schools in Chicago. One of our many findings is that African American students do not need to be surrounded by White students or by students from high income families in order to have high achievement. In several magnet schools where there is high achievement, the enrollment is predominantly African American, with large numbers from low-income families.

The success of these predominantly African American magnet schools proves that when teachers in public schools have high expectations for their students, and indeed high expectations become a part of the entire school environment or reason for being, significant academic achievement is possible. This point is underscored by the findings we previously mentioned about the Advanced Placement Examinations, which are open to all schools: if there are high expectations without adequate preparation, the result is failure and disappointment.

A second ray of hope is the existence of many independent schools owned and operated by African Americans themselves, as individuals, as community organizations, or as churches. These 5-day elementary and secondary schools operate in inner cities across the country, and they serve African-American children right in their own neighborhoods. So far, we have identified over 400 such schools across the United States, having an estimated enrollment of up to about 52,000 young people. And we believe that this is just the tip of the iceberg.

Our 1987 study showed that they were created by parents who were so disillusioned with the tragedy of public schools that they wanted to do something different. Two-thirds of these schools have an enrollment that is over 80 percent African American. Many of them, of course, were formed in the last several decades as the problem of public education has become worse, but many date back to the 19th century and to the early part of this century.

Approximately one-half of them are secular in nature and one-half are religiously affiliated, although only a few of the religiously affiliated schools actually promote specific church teachings. But these are nurturing environments in which, for the most part, the Afrocentric culture of the child is affirmed and where values are taught. They demonstrate that academic achievement is definitely possible, even among those who have been discarded by public schools as being beyond hope.

The schools tend to be smaller than public schools. They often appear to be extended families, with caring teachers in small class-

rooms and with families drawn from the immediate neighborhood. Over one-half of these families have four or five members, and approximately 57 percent have a total family income of less than $30,000. I'd like to also mention that approximately 11 to 16 percent earn over $50,000. So we're not talking about an elite group of parents here. We believe this broad mix of socioeconomic groups within these schools lends stability to these institutions and, of course, their learning environments.

There is much that public schools can learn from both independent schools and from their own magnet schools.

Many families at independent schools point out that education managers and departments of education rely too heavily on the bureaucracy and that teachers in the public sector seem to be overly concerned with institutionalizing their professions. Fortunately, however, recent recommendations to decentralize public schools and make them smaller, we feel, are steps in the right direction. Unfortunately, however, the demands of teachers for greater professionalization ultimately will do more to strengthen the power of teacher unions than it will teacher performance in the classroom.

Our research has shown that it is not more money, smaller schools, smaller class sizes, or integrated classrooms that make magnet schools successful. We believe that magnets, like independent schools, are successful because of parental and student choice. It is that personal sense of commitment that makes learning possible and makes teaching a joy.

Magnet schools have proven that they work, but they are now being threatened by the education establishment in a partisan war against choice programs in general. Independent neighborhood schools are self-help initiatives that have emerged from the people themselves. They are part of an indigenous movement, especially among African Americans, of which we all can be proud.

Unfortunately, though, whenever freedom of choice or any private sector initiatives demonstrate that they can work, there are always some who will try to rein them in, dilute their mission, and decrease their funding until they are rendered completely ineffective. The critics of free enterprise are even more vicious when they realize that a program, any program, is likely to bring real benefit to significant numbers of African Americans.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we urge you to do everything in your power to strengthen and expand those academic programs that work, whether they're in the public or private sector.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Joan Davis Ratteray, Ph.D., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOAN DAVIS RATTERAY, PH.D., PRESIDENT, INSTITUTE FOR INDEPENDENT EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, your concern for the state of education among African Americans is timely. We are now witnessing the cumulative effects of years of pedagogical failures, the tragic role of government in education policymaking and persistent racism that has shaped public attitudes over many years. These factors have effectively crushed the spirit and inhibited achievement by large numbers of African-American students across this Nation. It has affected our children, our teachers and our school environments. On the other hand, Mr. Chairman, we at the Institute for Independent Education have found, among public and private schools in America, several islands of hope in this desolate sea of education for African Americans.

For the past 40 to 50 years, Americans have been bombarded with an increasing flurry of negative images about African-American children. The pervasive deficit model that has shaped so many of our public and private policies has persisted from the founding of this Nation to the present. Some have even taken the position that African Americans have inherited no culture of their own, primarily because it did not take the same form as the written history of European Americans. In the second half of the twentieth century, we saw the revival of an early theme that African Americans have not taken well to socialization in American society, with specific reference to discipline in the classroom and the motivation to excel on measures of performance that are standardized on their mainstream peers. We also were told, by word and by deed, that African-American youth had no learning and no intelligence to acquire it if it were given.

Our research at the Institute on enrollment patterns and standardized test scores in public schools for the 1988-1989 school year shows the depth of the academic tragedy that afflicts African American students across America. We have found that in many urban areas, especially where there are high concentrations of African Americans, extremely large percentages of African-American students are trapped in schools where students are below the national norms on reading and mathematics.[1]

If students graduate without being able to read effectively, their ability to appreciate written material in their

environment, much less the literature and history of their own cultural background, or even the written instructions to higher mathematical problems is guaranteed to keep them permanently at the bottom of the achievement ladder in society.

The few African-Americans who make it through high school are battered once more when they try to get advanced placement in college, based on the level of their achievement on the College Board's Advanced Placement Examination. We found that as of 1988, at least 60 percent of the African American candidates did not qualify for placement and thus were being screened out by the process, while White students had a more than 64 percent chance of success.[2]

African-American males seem to have a better rate of success than females, in that 43 percent of the males who sit for the examination actually qualified for advanced placement, compared to 37 percent of the females. However, the total numbers of males is smaller than the number of females. For those who survive this ordeal, one which began in elementary school, it is a tribute to their persistence, their inner strength and perhaps other culturally-based qualities that we have not yet identified.

Nevertheless, in the public and private sectors, there are several rays of hope. Among public schools, we examined enrollment and test data for magnet schools in Chicago. One of our many findings is that African-American students do not need to be surrounded by White students and by students from high-

income families in order to have high achievement. In several magnet schools where there is high achievement, the enrollment is predominantly African American with large numbers of low-income families.[3]

The success of these predominantly African-American magnet schools proves that when teachers in public schools have high expectations for their students, and indeed high expectations become part of the entire school's reason for being, significant academic achievement is possible. This point is underscored by the findings we previously mentioned about the Advanced Placement examinations, which is open to all schools: if there are high expectations without adequate preparation, the result is failure and disappointment.

A second ray of hope is the existence of many independent schools, owned and operated primarily by African Americans, as individuals, community organizations or churches. These five-day elementary and secondary schools operate in our inner cities and serve African-American children right in their own neighborhoods. So far, we have identified about 400 such schools across the United States, having an estimated enrollment of up to 52,000 young people, and we believe this is only a fraction of the schools that actually exist.

Our 1987 study showed that they were created by parents who were disillusioned with the tragedy of public schools, and two-thirds of them have an enrollment that is over 81 percent African

American. Many of them were formed in the last several decades, as the problem of public education has become worse, but many date back to the nineteenth century and to the early part of this century.[4]

Approximately one-half of them are secular in nature and one-half are religiously-affiliated, although only a few of the religiously-affiliated schools actually promote specific church teachings. These are nurturing environments in which, for the most part, the Afrocentric culture of the child is affirmed and where values are taught. They demonstrate that academic achievement is possible, even among those who have been discarded by the public schools as being beyond hope.

The schools tend to be smaller than public schools. They often appear to be extended families, with caring teachers in small classrooms and with families drawn from the immediate neighborhood. Over one-half these families have four or five members, and 57 percent have a total family income of less than $30,000. Approximately 11 to 16 percent earn over $50,000. Therefore, the broad mix of socioeconomic groups within these schools lends stability to the institutions and to the learning environments.

There is much that public schools can learn from both independent schools and from their own magnet schools.

Many families at independent schools point out that education managers in departments of education rely on excessive

bureaucratization and that teachers in the public sector seem to be overly concerned about institutionalizing their professions. Fortunately, recent recommendations to decentralize public schools and make them smaller are steps in the right direction. Unfortunately, the demands of teachers for greater professionalization ultimately will do more to strengthen the power of teacher unions than it will teacher performance in the classroom.

Our research has shown that it is not more money, smaller schools, smaller class sizes, or integrated classrooms that make magnet schools successful. We believe that magnets, like independent schools, are successful because of parental and student choice. It is the personal sense of commitment that makes learning possible and makes teaching a joy.

Magnet schools have proven that they work, but they are now being threatened by the education establishment in a partisan war against choice programs. Independent neighborhood schools are self-help alternatives that have emerged from among the people themselves. They are part of an indigenous movement, especially among African Americans, of which we all can be proud.

Unfortunately, whenever freedom of choice and private-sector initiatives demonstrate that they can work, there are always some who will try to rein them in, dilute their mission and decrease their funding until they are rendered completely ineffective. The critics of free enterprise are even more

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vicious when they realize that a program -- any program -- is likely to bring real benefit to significant numbers of African Americans.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we urge you to do everything in your power to strengthen and expand academic programs that work, whether they are in the public or private sectors.

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INSTITUTE FOR
INDEPENDENT EDUCATION

June 1989

INDEPENDENT NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

FACT SHEET

Independent neighborhood schools are community-based self-help educational institutions, usually found in urban areas. They serve young people whose needs are not being met by large government school systems or by parochial and other traditional private schools.

Within the past four years, over 400 such schools have been identified across the United States, having an estimated enrollment of up to 52,000 young people. The Institute for Independent Education is convinced that this is only a small fraction of the total number of schools that may exist. In 1987, the Institute conducted research on 200 of these schools and published its findings in *Dare to Choose: Parental Choice at Independent Neighborhood Schools*. The following data are selected from that study:

AVERAGE ENROLLMENT:

Elementary schools	49
Secondary schools	110
(Range of enrollment: 22 to 1000)	

RACIAL/ETHNIC COMPOSITION:

African-American families	87%

(Some schools also serve primarily Hispanic-American, American Indian or Asian-American students in their own neighborhoods.)

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION:

Northeast	38%
Southeast	18%
Central	26%
West	14%
Southwest	5%

SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS APPROACHES:

Owned by families, community organizations or businesses	56%
Affirming students' cultural background	45%
Affiliated with churches or other religious organizations	44%
Religious emphasis in the curriculum	25%

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YEAR FOUNDED:

1884 - 1946	11%
1946 - 1969	25%
1970 - 1979	44%
1980 - 1987	15%

AVERAGE ANNUAL TUITION:

Religiously-affiliated	$1,490
Secular	$2,071

(Fees for the first pupil in each family. Tuition provides approximately 71% of the revenue at these schools.)

SIZE OF FAMILIES ATTENDING SCHOOLS:

	Religious	Secular
2 to 3 members	37%	36%
4 to 5 members	53%	48%
6 to 7 members	18%	13%
8 + members	2%	3%

INCOME OF FAMILIES ATTENDING SCHOOLS:

	Religious	Secular
Less than $15,000	22%	27%
$15,000 - $29,000	35%	30%
$30,000 - $49,000	32%	27%
$50,000 or more	11%	16%

LEVEL OF PARENTS' EDUCATION:

	Religious	Secular
Before high school	6%	5%
High school	38%	25%
Technical/Comm. Coll.	19%	16%
Four-year university	23%	29%
Postgraduate	14%	25%

REASONS WHY FAMILIES CHOOSE THESE SCHOOLS:

Academic reputation of institution	28%
Discipline	20%
Cultural affirmation	15%
Religious teachings/influence	12%

TEACHERS:

A majority of the teachers hold teaching certificates and over 90% of the schools have undergone state certification, licensure and registration where applicable. Some schools are members of national accrediting bodies.

WHY CONSIDER INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS?

Since over 90 percent of all students attend government schools, why expend the time and resources being concerned with an obviously small number of students? Here are some of the reasons we believe are important:

- African Americans, in particular, must be supportive of self-help efforts by *their own* people to build *their own* institutions, because institution-building is an important part of the fabric of freedom for any group of people.
- Education reforms of the 1980s have focused on preparing White Americans for their own socioeconomic environments. However, they have not been successful in producing effective strategies that nurture African-American and Hispanic-American students, nor have reforms increased the motivation of large numbers of these students to higher academic achievement. Therefore, it is important to consider independent neighborhood schools, most of which have had considerable success in these areas.
- The development of strong students with positive self-concepts is an example of what can happen when the free market is allowed to exist in education.
- The small size of independent schools makes them excellent environments for innovations in teaching and management that may provide useful examples for larger systems to follow.

[Copies of *Dare to Choose* are available from the Institute: Executive Summary, ISBN 0-941001-11-3, $5.50; Full report, ISBN 0-941001-03-2, $25.00.]

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American Visions
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Choosing a Minority Private School
Black private schools a growinc
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Alternative Schools Serve Hispanic Youth
VITAL SPEECHES
Crain's Chicago Business.

Chairman MILLER. Dr. Nobles.

STATEMENT OF WADE W. NOBLES, PH.D., DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCED STUDY OF BLACK FAMILY LIFE AND CULTURE, OAKLAND, CA

Dr. NOBLES. Mr. Chairman and members of the Select Committee on Children and Families, as the executive director of the Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, professor of black studies at San Francisco State University, and founding director of a newly established Center for Applied Cultural Studies and Educational Achievement, I wish to thank you for the opportunity to serve as an expert witness on the condition, problems, and solutions relative to black men. I especially want to thank you for having the vision and insight to not only seek an understanding of the plight and crises experienced by America's young black men, but to go even further in your quest by examining solutions to the crises experienced by black men.

It is especially important that I note for the record that as an expert I understand that the observations, information, insight, and opinions and perspectives I have to offer have been filtered through a dual prism of being, first, a trained scientific researcher, scholar, and academician; and second, and probably more importantly, being a black man socialized in the United States of America. With that stated condition, my testimony will highlight the sociopolitical crises experienced by black men, and conclude with an explanation of the HAWK Federation as one possible solution to these crises.

Having studied both the problems of young black men and particularly teenage pregnancy, gang violence, lack of motivation, under achievement, and drug involvement, as well as the societal constraints which affect black family viability, the Institute where I do most of my work understands that the problem is not the black man. The problem is societal.

If one looks at the fact that (1) black unemployment remains twice as high as white unemployment; (2) black people experience serious crime more often than their white counterparts; (3) only 58 percent of black youth in California complete high school and only 3.6 of those are eligible to go on to college; (4) that 14 percent of all births in California are to teenagers and 15 percent of all those teenage births are in the black community; (5) and finally, that the generalized health status of the black population is worse than that of the white population, then one is able to see that the problems experienced by the black family in general and black men in particular are systemic to the sociopolitical reality of the United States.

It is obviously the social conditions which lead black youth into entering the path of delinquency, deviancy and negativity.

Robert Hill notes, in that regard, that black men are forced to run a gauntlet of school expulsions, special education placement, dropout, foster care placement, delinquency, arrest, incarceration, unemployment, drug addiction, alcohol abuse, homelessness, homicides and suicides from the moment of the cradle to the moment of the grave. In noting the importance of black men, he concludes, as

did James McGee before him, that the functioning of black families, and I would inject the functioning of American society, cannot be enhanced until the highest priority is assigned to insuring that black boys, black male youth, black adult men and black fathers are able to fulfill their responsibilities as productive members of our society.

The data are clear that black men face a precarious future.

This is just a limited perspective, but there are six major crises that young black men find when they are born in this country. The life chances, the involvement in criminality, the economic conditions, the educational level, the involvement with drugs and gang violence and deviant lifestyles, and finally the involvement with male sexual misconduct which leads to health risks which is so popularized now by the AIDS scare are all issues that black men are confronted with as they grow up.

But the clarification of the problem is something that I would like to point out because often times we miss it as we look at the external indicators of the problems of black men.

The major societal flaw in America is ultimately, and has remained, racism. It remains pervasive and seems to be forever enduring. We cannot simply say it does not exist and hope that it goes away. To fail to understand the real source of racist behavior in its relation to the historical imaging and treatment of black males is to overlook the fundamental cause of America's societal flaw and the ultimate explanation of why black men are "in trouble."

Both symbolically and literally, racism touches every aspect of all our lives, particularly in relation to the imaging and selfesteem of black men. The negative image and societal projections on the selfimage and selfesteem of black men began with the historical contact between Africa and the West. It is within this contact that one finds the philosophical basis for racist behavior. And we need to highlight that there is a philosophical basis of racist behavior.

During this contact, the one outstanding sign having special meaning was the invention of the concept of "the Negro." It is extremely important to recognize that the concept and meaning of "the Negro" is entirely different and distinct ideologically and philosophically from the image and meaning of "the African." Given that literally from the beginning of human consciousness to the advent of "the Negro," the position of the black man and the relationship between Africa and the non-African world was the opposite of what it is now. It is important to understand the psychosocial meaning and consequences of this shift.

From the time of the Ionian philosophers to the Roman Ascension to the Moorish conquest of the Iberian peninsula, evidence abound that so-called white people viewed the so-called black people with awe and respect. The terms Ethiop, Blackamoor, Nubian and African all represented in the minds of non-African people a culture and a people who were superior and praiseworthy. The European, in effect, had to redefine the African so that we, African people, differed in mentality, attitude, function and belief from that which allowed us to rule the world and to contribute to the process of human development.

Enter here on the state of human history the necessity of inventing this concept called "the Negro," and the permanent installation of a Greco-Roman philosophical/ideological base of Western civilization. This period also signals the acceptance of the philosophical foundation of racism.

Note if you will, Mr. Chairman, that the ancient African people believed that man existed in one of two conditions. One could exist in a state of ignorance or one could exist in a state of enlightenment. In fact, the ancient Kemetic people believed that human destiny and purpose was to grow from ignorance to enlightenment. European philosophers, however, translated the African philosophical states of ignorance and enlightenment into metaphors of "darkness" and "the light." Ignorance, in turn, became signified by evil and inferior and enlightenment became signified by goodness and superior, which in turn were ultimately symbolically represented by black and white.

There is the crux of the problem of American society, that we retain the philosophical basis of believing that dark means bad and light means good and that black means evil and white means good. And consequently, we have classified the African as a Negro, which is evil, bad and inferior connotations. Philosophical racism simply directs the perceptions and choices of all of us relative to the value and imaging of the black man. Hence, the black man becomes on the bottom of the totem pole.

This, in fact, is the philosophical legacy of Western culture in American society. We see evidence of this everyday as we look at how we address and approach the issue called the black man. The image and self-esteem of black men are clearly grounded in the idea that to be a black man is to be a person who is ignorant, who won't work hard, who can't work effectively with other black men, who won't support his children, who disrespects children, who always wants something for nothing, who is incompetent and shiftless, who is lazy and violent, who is superior athletically and inferior intellectually, who is materialistic, possessive, sexually aggressive and lustful, who is insecure, who is docile, who is irresponsible and ultimately is one who is totally dependent upon white approval.

These are ideas are reflected everywhere from the portrayal of black men on television, in the theatre, to the perception of black elected officials. None of us escape from this imaging. Though erroneous and false, if said often enough, these ideas become the self-fulfilling prophecy. Clearly, if young black men are nurtured in an environment comprised of these stereotypes and if the philosophical basis of racism prevents us from challenging the belief system which supports these notions, then American society itself becomes the problem for black men, not black men the problem for America.

In effect, the nature of American society shapes the very potential, possibility and probabilities of black men. It is clear to us that unless we create a systematic and deliberate attempt to alter the negative forces confronting the black family and their male children in particular, the conditions of the black community will become worse and we will see the emergence of a permanent black underclass in the 21st century.

The key to my testimony, Mr. Chairman, is that given the overwhelming involvement of black males in the most pathological strands of society, it is clear that the development of a positive black adolescent male is an important strategy in the prevention of the further devastation of the black community and of American society. In regards to prevention, it is equally clear that the most effective prevention technique are those that promote a natural resilience to the targeted pathology. In effect, the best adolescent prevention plan is a plan that promotes positive youth development.

In order to provide the development experience that is necessary for the proper physical and intellectual growth and development of black men-children, prevention activities must alter the negative images, ideas and values that are imposed on the black males.

Mr. Chairman, the development of the HAWK Federation, which is a case study that we are conducting in California, is consistent with this strategy. Technically, the HAWK Project is a prescription to develop effective solutions of programmatic interventions for black men.

I have provided the Committee with a detailed description of the HAWK Federation and I would simply like to highlight that the HAWK Federation stands for high achievement, wisdom and knowledge. The HAWK Project was developed to address the problems experienced in the black community while simultaneously reflecting the historical and cultural integrity of African and African American people.

This is a footnote. It is that cultural integrity of African people that has never been respected in American society and it is the crux of the philosophical legacy of racism that prevents us from utilizing the strengths in the African American community to develop solutions.

The HAWK Program was developed as an attempt to intentionally and overtly influence the values and moral character of young black males. The sole and singular mission of the HAWK training program is to overtly and intentionally develop competent, confident and conscious black men. Competent in that they are able to do something well, confident in that whatever it is, they can handle it, and conscious in the belief that they are, in fact, black men and do not have to give up their blackness in order to achieve success in the society.

The HAWK Federation's philosophical and cultural foundation is embedded in the Afrocentric cultural precepts of the seven ancient African cardinal virtues of MAAT. Now I speak a foreign language to you because our education has prevented us from understanding these concepts, but there are, in fact, ancient African cultural virtues that talk about the development of man that have retained themselves in the African community and our society needs to give them license and liberty to utilize them in the development of men.

The second is the ten principles of initiatory mastery and the third is the two codes of proper conduct. I need to point out that those three things, the 7 cardinal virtues of MAAT, the 10 principles of initiatory mastery, and the two codes of proper conduct are principles that the African community developed 6,000 years ago, long before, in fact, the birth of Christ.

In response to the question of positive self—esteem, the overall strategy of the HAWK Federation is to systematically expose young black men to an orchestrated series of thinking, feeling and doing exercises which are designed to reinforce and to inculcate in them the idea of positive black manhood.

When one's behavior is driven by the attitude of excellent, the mastery of skills and the commitment to one's own community, then there is little desire or motivation to engage in deviant behaviors. With its emphasis on the cardinal virtues, the initiatory mastery and the codes of proper conduct, the HAWK Federation program promotes positive black manhood and thereby prevents the adoption of behaviors, attitudes and values inconsistent with the positive black manhood.

In the full report, I will direct your attention to the fact that the HAWK program essentially does work and that we look at those indicators of academic achievement and issues of motivation and self-esteem, the indicators show that we are, in fact, witnessing improved grade scores and improved perceptions of motivations and achievement.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, I hope these brief remarks and my written testimony will be helpful. I will simply conclude by suggesting that serious attention be given to the strategy of health promotion rather than disease prevention and that equal attention be given to the needs of black men from a cultural perspective. We have failed to serve the black community in denying its cultural integrity.

In this context and the recognition that community groups, church groups, social clubs and fraternal organizations throughout the United States have all come to realize the need for culturally consistent, that is Afrocentric manhood training programs. And given the several existing models that are now currently operating throughout the United States, all suffer from being "off the national agenda" because black men are, "off the national agenda."

It is my single recommendation that the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families simply support in principal, directive and finance the establishment and implementation of community-based and operated black manhood training and development programs as the strategy for the prevention of those indicators that place black men at risk and in trouble.

Thank you very much for your time and your attention.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Wade W. Nobles, Ph.D., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WADE W. NOBLES, PH.D., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCED STUDY OF BLACK FAMILY, LIFE AND CULTURE, INC., OAKLAND, CA, PROFESSOR OF BLACK STUDIES, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN FRANCISCO, CA, FOUNDING DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR APPLIED CULTURAL STUDIES AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM, LONG BEACH, CA

Mr. Chairman and members of the United States House of Representatives, Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, as the Executive Director of the Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, Inc., a professor of Black studies at San Francisco State University and the founding Director of the newly established Center for Applied Cultural Studies and Educational Achievement of the California State University System, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to serve as an expert witness on the condition, problems and solutions relative to Black men. I especially want to thank you for having the vision and insight to not only seek an understanding of the plight and crises experienced by America's young Black men but to go even further in your quest by examining solutions to the crises experienced by Black men.

It is especially important that I note for the record that as an "expert", I understand that the observations, information, insights, opinions and perspectives I have to offer have been filtered through the dual prism of being a trained scientific researcher/scholar/academician and a Black man socialized in the United States of America. With that stated condition, my testimony will highlight the socio-political crises experienced by Black men in America, identify some of the reasons why we haven't been able to reconcile America's race problem, give evidence of the concrete consequences of systemic and systematic crises experienced by Black men and conclude with an explanation of the HAWK Federation as one possible solution to this crises.

The Black Man's Crisis or America's Crisis

In a recently aired television documentary regarding the crises in Black America and the destruction of the Black family (CBS Special: The Vanishing Black Family), Bill Moyers in recalling the book, The Invisible Man by Ralph Ellison, noted that "today the young Black man is anything but invisible. He is the one who shows up in the highest unemployment rate; he is right there at the top of the crime statistics; he is the one most threatening to his Black neighbors and the one most feared in the mind of White America".

Having studied both the problems of young Black men (particularly teenage pregnancy, gang violence, lack of motivation, drugs, etc.) as well as the societal constraints which affect Black family viability, the Institute, unlike Mr. Moyers and CBS, understands that the problem is not Black men. The problem is societal. If one looks at the fact that (1) Black unemployment remains twice as high as White unemployment; (2) Black people experience serious crime more often than their White counterparts; (3) only 58% of Black youth in California complete high

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school and only 3.6% of those are eligible to go on to college[1] ; (4) 14% of all births in California are to teenagers and 15% of the teen births are Black; and, (5) the generalized health status of the Black population is worse than that of the White population, then one is able to see that the problems experienced by the Black family, in general and Black men, in particular, are systemic to the socio-political reality of America. These societal conditions and/or structural constraints nevertheless result in deviant familial and personal lifestyles and the Black adolescent male is not immune to this process. In fact, given Western culture relative to maleness (i.e., aggressiveness, strong, unemotional, independent, etc.) and the psychology of oppression, Black males should be highly susceptible to the negative consequences of this condition.

It is, obviously, the social conditions which lead Black youth into entering the path of delinquency, deviancy and negativity.

Robert Hill (1989) notes in this regard that Black men "... are forced to run a 'guantlet' of school expulsions, special education placement, dropouts, foster care placements, delinquency, arrest, incarceration, unemployment, drug addiction, alcohol abuse, homelessness, homocides and suicides from the cradle to the grave'. In noting the importance of Black men, he concludes, as did James McGee (1984) before him, that the functioning of Black families and I would interject, American society, can not be enhanced until the highest priority is assigned to insuring that Black boys, male youth, adult men and fathers are able to fulfill their responsibilities as productive members of society.

The data are clear that the Black man faces a precarious future. On almost every indicator of socio-economic well-being the Black male lags far behind almost every other sex and ethnic group in the country.

Problem #1-Life Chances of the Black Male: The Black male has a lower life expectancy rate than any other sex and ethnic group. Indeed within the past two years the Black male life expectancy has actually declined. In 1983, the Black male mortality rate (1,020 per 100,000) was almost double that for White males (698 per 100,000) and Black females (590 per 100,000) and three times that for White females (393 per 100,000). The incidence of drug-related disease (cirrhosis of the liver) for Black males under 35 years is 12 times higher than with any other comparable group. In 1983, the death rate for cirrhosis of the liver for Black males was 23 per 100,000, almost double that of White males of 13 per 100,000, double that

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[1] In response to the educational failure of California's educational system relative to Black children, the newly established Center for Applied Cultural Studies and Educational Achievement was developed by the California State Department of Education and the California State University System to directly affect systemic and systematic changes at every level of the educational experience of African-American students (see appendix__

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of Black females of 11 per 100,000 and four times that of White females of 6 per 100,000. The death rate for heart diseases for Black males was 308 per 100,000, the highest rate for all sex and ethnic groups.

The Black male has a 1 in 21 chance of being murdered in his lifetime (i.e. by age 65) compared to a 1 in 104 chance for the Black female, a 1 in 131 chance for the White male and a 1 in 369 chance for the White female. Homicide is the leading cause of death among Black males 15-24 and one out of every three deaths (38.5%) of Black males 20-24 was due to homicide. The Black male homicide rate of 54 per 100,000 males was seven times that for White males, five times that for Black females and eighteen times that for White females. Although Black males comprise only 6% of the total population of America they account for 34% of all the murder victims.

Problem #2-Criminality of Black Youth: Although the Black population represents 12% of the total population it accounts for 46% of the prison population. Of the Black prison population Black males account for 89%; 54% of the Black males in prison were below 29 years.The incarceration data are also indicating a new level of drug-related behavior in the Black community.

Problem #3-Economic Condition of the Black Males: In terms of the opportunities for participation in the mainstream economic activities the data indicate that Black males are increasingly becoming a marginal group. Labor force participation rates for Black males fell from 83% in 1960 to 75% in 1983. At the same time the unemployment ratio for Black males has remained constantly at double that for White males and currently stands at 14.9%. Unemployment among Black male adolescents was 49.6% in 1983. The implication of these data is that large portions of the Black male population are not participating in the formal economic structure of American society.

Problem #4-Educational Level of Black Male Youth: Educational data indicate that Black youth, in general, are scoring consistently below the national average across all grade levels and all subjects and are not being prepared for entry into college. In addition the data also indicate that Black male students drop-out , or are "pushed out", of the school system at higher rates than other sex and ethnic groups.

Problem #5-Black Youth and Drugs and Gang Violence: Drugs, youth gangs, violence, victimization and crime are increasingly becoming part of the everyday experiences of Black males. There can be little doubt that drug use and abuse has reached epidemic proportions within the African-American community. The primary drug's in the African-American community have traditionally been marijuana and heroin, with cocaine being seen as the drug of the rich and powerful. However, within recent years there has been a dramatic shift in the drug of choice in the community. While the incidence of marijuana

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and heroin use appears to have stabilized, cocaine use has skyrocketed with the emergence of crack. In Oakland, for example, it is estimated that 90% of the drug trafficking is in cocaine. The emergence of this drug has brought the more expensive and addictive cocaine into the reach of the poorer sectors of the community. Crack is cheap. It is easy to hide, easy to use, deadly, potent and highly addictive. In this regard, data from the latest National Survey of Drug Use (1987) reported that one out of every twenty-five high school seniors (4.1%) reported having tried crack in the past year. Usage rates were substantially higher among the non-college bound (5.2%) than the college bound (2.8%); and in the larger cities (5.9%) than the smaller cities and non-urban areas (3.5% each).

The increase in drug-related activities is reflected in a corresponding increase in arrests for drug offenses. There was a 19% increase in arrests for drug offenses in 1984, compared to 1983. The alarming trend in this statistic is that there was an 11% increase in arrests for heroin and cocaine sales and a 7% decline in marijuana sales. These data reflect a shift in the pattern of drug activities to the more addictive drugs of heroin and cocaine.

The context of drug use in the African-American community is especially problematic in that most children learn about drugs and are offered drugs the first time by social peers and sometimes relatives. The consequence of this is that children are exposed at early ages to the presence of drugs; are capable of identifying the behavioral modalities associated with drug use; and become quickly acclimated to a drug-infested environment.

Problem #6-Black Male Sexual Misconduct and Health Risk: AIDS is the newest and most frightening danger to emerge from the presence of drugs in the African-American community. However, until recently, in the African-American community, AIDS had been considered a disease affecting white homosexual and bisexual men and some African-American intravenous drug users. At the current time African-Americans (mostly males) represent 25% of AIDS cases, but only 12% of the national population. However, among children the situation is even worse. Currently 59% of children with AIDS are African-American (Health, United States, 1987). Almost all of these children have been infected in utero; 89% of diagnosed children have at least one intravenous drug-using parent.

Given the prevailing pattern of drug use in the African-American community, the sharing of needles common among heroin users represents the primary mode of transmission of the virus in the African-American community. Similarly, the increase in teenage prostitution associated with "crack houses" is placing a large proportion of young women at risk of contracting the virus through sexual intercourse with multiple partners. There is little doubt that the incidence of drug use and sexual misconduct has placed the African-American population at great risk of contracting this deadly virus. Without a doubt, the

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primary effect of substance abuse and sexual misconduct, in the African-American community, is one of death, devastation and destruction as lives are lost, careers are destroyed, families are torn apart and the future resources of the community are depleted.

Toward a Clarification of the Problem

The major societal flaw in America is ultimately racism. It remains pervasive and seems to be forever enduring. To fail to understand the real source of racist behavior and its relation to the historical imaging and treatment of Black males is to overlook the fundamental cause of America's societal flaw and the ultimate explanation of why Black men are "in trouble".

Both symbolically and literally, racism touches every aspect of our lives, particularly, in relation, to the imaging and self esteem of Black men. The negative images and societal projections on the self image and self esteem of Black men began with the historical contact between Africa and the West. It is within this contact that one finds the philosophical basis for racist behavior. During this contact, the one outstanding sign having special meaning was the invention of "the Negro". It is extremely important to recognize that the concept and meaning of "the Negro" is an entirely different and distinct ideological and philosophical construct from the image and meaning of "the African". Given that literally from the beginning of human consciousness to the advent of "the Negro", the position of the Black man and the relationship between the African and the non-African was the opposite of what it is now. The meaning of the African in the historical consciousness of the European, for instance, was, (up until the advent of the Negro) associated with high culture, superior civilization and sophisticated human systems of organization (i.e., governance, commerce, family, religion, etc.)

From the time of the Ionian philosophers, to the Roman Ascension to the Moorish conquest of the Iberian peninisula, evidence abounds that so-called White people viewed the so-called Black people with awe and respect. The terms Ethiop, Blackamoor, Nubian and African all represented, in the minds of the European, a culture and people who were superior and praiseworthy. However, European world domination required the exchange of African respect and admiration for the imaging of the disrespected and unworthy "Negro". The psychological requisite for European domination was, therefore, the destruction of African civilization and history and the re-definition of the meaning of "the African". The European, in effect, had to re-define the African so that we (African people) differed in mentality, attitude, function (behavior) and belief from that which allowed us to rule the known world and contribute to the process of human development. Enter here on the stage of human history the necessity for inventing the concept of "the Negro" and the permanent installation of a Judeo-Christian Greco-Roman philosophical/ideological bases of Western civilization. With the establishment of philosophical doctrines of human domination and exploitation

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like the "Imperium Christianum", "Regnum Europae" and "Societas Christianum", Europe emerged from the dark ages committed to a new interpretation of history and human consciousness steeped thoroughly and inextricably in Eurocentricism. The requisite condition for the legitimacy of this Eurocentrism was the destruction of the Afro-centric world and the establishment in the consciousness of the world the concept of "the Negro".

This period also signals the acceptance of the philosophical foundation of "racism". Note if you will that Ancient African people believed that man existed in one of two conditions. One could exist in a state of "ignorance" or one could exist in a state of "enlightenment". In fact, the ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) people believed that human destiny and purpose was to "grow" from ignorance to enlightenment. The European philosophers, however, translated the African philosophical states of ignorance and enlightenment into the metaphors of "Darkness" and "the Light". Ignorance in turn became signified by "evil" and the enlightenment by "good(ness)", which, in turn, were ultimately symbolically represented as "Black" and "White". With the acceptance of the philosophical belief system that put forth the notion that the nature of the human is ev'l and that all relationships were linear polarities with superior and inferior classifications, the ancient Europeans ultimately redefined the African development schema of ignorance to enlightenment into a polar opposite continuum of white vs black and good vs evil. The ancient European community in turn clasified and sorted the world and its peoples into categories of color with the white people of the world being the good (superior) and the non-white (Black) people of the world being the bad (inferior).

Hence, having (re)classified the African as the Negro with its evil, bad and inferior connotations, philosophical racism simply directs the perceptions and choices of people relative to the value and imaging of the Black man. This is, in fact, the philosophical legacy of Western culture and American society.
Note, if you will the popular ideas about Black men. In the United States, the imaging and self-esteem of Black men are clearly grounded in the ideas that to be a Black man is to be a person who is ignorant; does poorly in school; won't work hard; can't work effectively with other Black men; won't support his children; disrespects women; always wants something for nothing; are incompetent and shiftless; over controls his feelings; never tells the truth; is always paranoid; is lazy and violent; is superior atheletically and inferior intellectually; is materialistic, possessive, sexually aggressive and lustful, insecure, docile, irresponsible and ultimately dependent upon white approval. These ideas are reflected everywhere, from the portrayal of Black men on television/theatre, to the perceptions of Black elected official.

The Consequences of the Negative Imaging of Black Males

Though erroneous and false, if said often enough these ideas become the self-fulfilling prophesy. Clearly, if young Black men are nurtured in an environment comprised of these stereotypes and if the philosophical basis of racism prevents us from challenging the belief system which supports these notions, then American society itself becomes the problem for Black men. In effect, the nature of American society shapes the very potential, possibility and potential of the Black man. The problems of Black adolescent males are extremely complicated. They are simultaneously interwoven with the societal problems subsequently experienced by the family and the lack of positive male-defined identity, culture and values. At a time when the news media is popularizing the idea of Black progress, analysis of traditional socio-demographic data indicate that the relative position of the Black population is becoming worse and that the "image of progress" is more real than the "reality of progress". Indeed, Black families across the nation are experiencing an ever-increasing weakness and difficulty in its ability to function as a viable human organization. The problems encountered by the Black family and its children are problems embedded in the nature and changing structure of American society. In recognizing that the "problems of Black adolescent males" are clearly visible in the context of the concrete reality in which they live (i.e., drug trafficking, crime, violence, unemployment, etc.), the cultural context of the problem becomes a focal point for its eradication as well as the theme for its prevention.

Clearly, young black males are in crisis and are at risk of becoming a permanent drain on society and an uncontrollable danger to themselves and their communities. It is clear to us that unless we create a systematic and deliberate attempt to alter the negative forces confronting the Black family and their male children, in particular, the conditions of the Black community will become worse and we will see the emergence of a permanent Black underclass in the 21st century.

Promotion of Manhood vs. Prevention of Deviancy: The HAWK Federation

Given the overwhelming involvement of Black males in the most pathological strands of society (i.e., drug related activity, criminality, unemployment, poor education and health, etc) it is clear that the development of positive Black adolescent males is an important strategy in the prevention of the further devastation of the Black Community and American society. In regards to prevention, it is equally clear that the most effective prevention techniques are those that promote a natural resilience to the targeted pathology. In effect, the best adolescent prevention plan is a plan that promotes positive youth development.

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The Institute's work on human functioning supports the fact that the necessary condition for behavioral change is to effect a change in the 'ideas' held to be true by the actors. In order to provide the developmental experience(s) that are necessary for the proper physical and intellectual growth and development of the Black man-child, prevention activities must alter the negative images, ideas and values that are imposed upon the Black males and develop strategies designed to break the cycle of apathy, despair and hopelessness that pervades many of the urban communities and which places the Black male at risk.

It is the opinion of the Institute that social deviancy, pathology, substance abuse, inappropriate behavior, sexual misconduct, hopelessness, defeatism, etc. are all exacerbated by racism and exploitation and like racist behavior, they are all grounded in the American culture. Hence, the task of changing the inappropriate behavior is, in effect, a task of 'culturally realigning' the adolescent's behavior with principles of conduct consistent with the highest level of human functioning. In effect, aberrant behavior which is based on culturally distorted ideas must be realigned with culturally accurate and appropriate 'ideas'. The development of the HAWK Federation is consistent with this strategy.

DESCRIPTION OF HAWK FEDERATION PROJECT

Technically, the HAWK project is a "prescription" which emerged from the Institute's "Cultural Context Problem Solving and Program Development Process". In this process, once the "problem" experienced by a community or institution is identified, the next task is to develop effective solutions or programmatic interventions which reflect both the concrete conditions and the culture of the target community.

The HAWK project was developed to address the problems experienced in the Black community while simultaneously reflecting the historical cultural integrity of the target population[2].

The HAWK Programme was developed as an attempt to intentionally and overtly influence the values and moral character of young Black males. The sole and singular mission of the HAWK training program is to overtly and intentionally develop competent, confident and conscious African-American

[2] In regards to the original test site, Grant Union High School, of the HAWK project, the school site leadership had identified teenage pregnancy, delinquency, and school drop-out as problems directly impacting on its ability to educate those children placed in its charge. Although a generalized prevention model, and given the request of the Sacramento host school, the HAWK application at Grant Union High School, accordingly, targeted male responsibility in teenage pregnancy prevention as its goal.

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men. Through a process of intentionally introducing to these young men the qualities, attributes, attitudes and responsibilities of African & African-American men of Excellence, the HAWK project stimulates in their character the desire to become high achievers and the best at whatever they do. In so doing, the HAWK process aims at developing in each young man (1) something which he does exceptionally well (competence); (2) a belief that whatever the task, he can be successful at it (confidence); and, (3) an awareness of the historical greatness of African & African-American men and their personal responsibility to the future continuation of that greatness (consciousness). It is, in effect, a universal prevention-intervention programme that addresses simultaneously the problems of drugs, gang violence, academic failure, low aspirations, poor self-esteem and inappropriate sexual behavior.

In regards to youth development, the motivation factor imbedded in the HAWK Youth development and training program is found in

(1) the Afrocentric cultural precepts of the cardinal virtues of MAAT

- Truth
- Justice
- Righteousness
- Propriety
- Balance
- Harmony
- Order

(2) the principles of initiatory mastery and

- Mastery of One's Thought
- Mastery of One's Behavior
- Devotion to Higher Purpose
- Faith in One's Teacher
- Faith in Oneself
- Faith in One's ability
- Free from Resentment/wrong
- Free from Resentment/wronged
- Ability to Tell Right from Wrong
- Ability to Tell Difference between the Real and the Unreal.

(3) the codes of proper conduct.

- Sense of Excellence
- Sense Appropriateness

These serve as the ethos or set of guiding principles that govern the conduct of the young men in the program.

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How Does the HAWK Federation Foster Positive Self Esteem?

Two issues are critical to positive self-esteem. One must first have an example or model of the positive self-esteem and one must see a connection or bond between themselves and the "model". The overall strategy of the HAWK Federation is to systematically expose young Black men to an orchestrated series of thinking, feeling and doing exercises which are designed to reinforce and inculcate the idea of "positive Black manhood". One aspect of this strategy is what we have named the "African Mind Model Technique". In this technique, rather than identify "role models", we emphasize the "mentality" which was imbedded in African men of excellence. This is accomplished by having our trainees study and interpret the lives and accomplishments of real African and African-American men of excellence so as to demonstrate that these Black men were or are like them and they achieved greatness. Secondly the excercises help to point out that the only difference between these young Black men and the Black men of excellence was(is) a mentality (ergo, the Mind Model) which reflected a sense of Competence, Confidence and Consciousness.

The result of this technique is that once Black boys are given profiles of Competent, Confident and Conscious Black men and are helped to see their own image and interest in the history and experience of these models then they begin to express a personal sense of their own value and importance (i.e., positive self-esteem).

How Does the HAWK Federation Training Program Function as a Universal Prevention-Intervention Program?

The Institute's work on human functioning supports the fact that the substance or foundation of all behavior is a set of 'ideas' which give the behavior licence and direction. Accordingly, the necessary condition for behavioral change is a change in the 'ideas' held to be true by the actors. In order to provide the educational experience(s) that are necessary for the proper physical and intellectual growth and development of the Black man-child, school systems and/or community agencies have to institutionalize a conscious and deliberate process of altering the negative images that are imposed upon the Black man-child and develop strategies designed to break the cycle of apathy, despair and hopelessness that pervades many of the urban communities in which Black children are raised.

In the African tradition, education was not only seen as learning facts, figures, names and dates. Education was viewed as a process of "transformation" or change. The goal of education was to develop the learner and, through h/er, to bring about harmony, understanding and enlightenment in the world. As such the educational process went through successive stages so that the learner grew from "one not knowing" to "one who knew" to "one who understood".

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Education was governed by a particular attitude and training method. The attitude was one of excellence and high achievement. In order to create such an attitude, the primary or initial focus of training was to develop in the learner personal character, commitment and consciousness. Upon achieving the "attitude of excellence", the training then focused on the installation and mastery of skills (i.e., cognition, computing, comprehension, etc.). The African cultural training methodology utilized the precise techniques of accentuation, association and attribution.

The HAWK training program reclaims the African tradition and has systematically created a training program for young African-American men which is designed to utilize the "attitude of excellence" and the educational goal of harmony, understanding and enlightenment to develop competent, confident and conscious African-American achievers.

In terms of education and developmental efforts, training which results in a willingness to sacrifice in order to achieve; a desire to attain wisdom; and a passion for knowledge, would be consistent with the goal of developing competent, confident and conscious African-American men. Such a training emphasis translates to a developmental process which stimulates achievement, knowing and wisdom. These, high achievement, wisdom and knowledge, if orchestrated properly become the basis for proper conduct and appropriate African-American male behavior. The HAWK Programme was, thereby, developed as an attempt to intentionally and overtly influence the values and moral character of young Black males. It was, in effect, intentionally designed to be a universal prevention-intervention programme that addresses simultaneously the problems of drugs, gang violence, academic failure, low aspirations and poor self-esteem.

When one's behavior is driven by the attitude of excellence, the mastery of skills and a commitment to one community, then there is little desire or motivation to engage in deviant behaviors. With its emphasis on the cardinal virtues, initiatory mastery and codes of proper conduct, the HAWK Federation program promotes positive Black manhood and thereby prevents[3] the adoption of behaviors, attitudes and/or values inconsistent with positive Black manhood.

Does the HAWK Program Work?

A HAWK Federation project is currently in operation in one high school in Sacramento, California. Data obtained from the first year evaluation of the HAWK Project point to the general utility of the program in redressing the issues confronting black adolescent males.

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[3] Without exception, the Office of Substance Abuse Prevention (OSAP) has taken no leadership in programmatically recognizing that culturally consistent projects with an emphasis on "promotion" rather than "prevention" is the only strategy designed to guarantee success in eradicating substance abuse.

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For example, data on GPA indicate that 55% of the youth in the program improved their records from the first semester to the second semester. In effect, the data show that the student GPA for the current semester was higher than their cumulative score, (i.e., the average score for the previous two semesters). This would indicate that the overall academic performance in the second semester was better than that for the previous semesters. The improvement in GPA for the students was very important as an indicator of the success of the HAWK project.

The general perspective of the teachers at the end of the first semester was that the vast majority of the students (82%) who participated in the HAWK project were performing below their apparent ability. At the end of the second semester, however, this figure had declined to 33%. This would suggest that the students had begun to be motivated to succeed in the school system. It should also be noted that there is research literature that suggests that those students who are doing well in school are less likely to get involved with drugs and drug-related activity.

In educating and inoculating these young Black males, we attempted through the HAWK Project to re-align them to a value and belief system which was consistent with the positive nature of African people. By reinforcing the positive attributes of Black manhood, the HAWK Federation program "prevents" young Black boys from being susceptible to drug involvement and deviant lifestyles. In terms of the universal prevention aspect of the project, we self-consciously created a project image and interest which would reinforce behavior consistent with High Achievement, Wisdom and Knowledge. We intentionally created images, symbols, regalia, rituals, practices and responsibilities which were designed to help internalize positive Black manhood as represented by High Achievement, Wisdom and Knowledge. The young men in this program have, as a result of the program internalized a "no drug use" philosophy along with the goals of becoming competent, confident and conscious Black men. The positive results of this training project, relative to eradicating deviant lifestyles, suggest that this project should be tested and replicated on a larger scale.

Given the HAWK Project's internalization strategy of impacting on how young Black men feel, think and do relative to proper conduct and positive cultural values and precepts, this project can serve as a direct demonstration of how the promotion of Black Youth development and training can serve as a deviancy/delinquency prevention technique with Black adolescent males.

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Conclusion and Recommendation

Mr. Chairman I hope these brief remarks and my written testimony have been helpful. I will simply conclude by suggesting that serious attention be given to the strategy of "health promotion" rather than "disease prevention" and that equal attention be given to the needs of Black men.

In this context and in recognition that community groups, churches, social clubs and fraternal organizations throughout the United States have all come to realize the need for culturally consistent (Afrocentric) manhood training programs; and, given that the several existing programs (eg., . Gary Mendez' Children of the Sun; Jawanza Kunjufu's Zimba Projects; Useni Perkins' Models of Positive Development of Black Youth; Nathan and Julia Hare's Bringing the Black Boy into Manhood, Rite of Passage Program; The Urban Leagues' Adolescent Male Responsibility Network; The HAWK Federation, etc.) all suffer from being "off the national agenda", it is my single recommendation that the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families support in principle, directive and finance the establishment and implementation of community based and operated Black manhood training and development programs.

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Attachments

- Briefing Specifications on "The HAWK Federation: A Manhood Training & Development Program"
- HAWK Project Profile A Federation of Manhood Training & Development Programs
- Selected Bibliography Relative to Black Men
- Prospectus
  Center for Applied Cultural Studies and Educational Achievement

Resume of Wade W. Nobles, Ph.D.

Briefing Specifications on "The HAWK Federation: A Manhood Training & Development Program"

What Is It?

The HAWK Federation is a universal prevention-intervention programme that addresses simultaneously the problems of drugs, gang violence, academic failure, low aspirations and poor self-esteem.

By emphasizing the promotion of positive, healthy, strong Black men, the HAWK Federation is a viable, effective and cost-efficient means of prevention and intervention for young Black men. The HAWK Federation was developed by The Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, Inc. (P. O. Box 24739, Oakland, Ca. 94623 • (415) 836-3245.)

Why Is It Needed?

The Black male, like the Black female, is a necessary cornerstone or building block in the healthy structure and functioning of the family and society. As such, the Black male's proper performance of his role in the family and society is an essential ingredient in the viability and preservation of life in this nation. However, the problems experienced by Black men (i.e., unemployment, criminality, substance abuse, etc.) and the lack of services designed to mediate these conditions not only place and define Black men as an "endangered species", but they also foretell of the increasing problems and future devastation for the society at large.

Currently we are seeing a greater involvement of Black boys in all the problems that are antithetical to positive male responsibility to self, family and society. More so than ever before, the development of young Black males in particular needs to be guided and directed and not just left to chance. The HAWK Programme was developed as an attempt to intentionally and overtly influence the values, moral character and positive development of young Black males.

What Does it Do?

The HAWK Federation manhood education and training program instills in young Black boys (1) a willingness to sacrifice in order to achieve; (2) a desire to attain wisdom; (3) a passion for knowledge; (4) positive behavioral practices; and, (5) the internalization of a personal goal to become a competent, confident and conscious African-American man.

The HAWK educational and training program is designed to utilize the "attitude of excellence", "the sense of appropriateness" and the educational goal of harmony, understanding and enlightenment to develop competent, confident and conscious African-American achievers.

Interest Application/Adoption

I/my organization would be interested in receiving training as a HAWK trainer and would like more information about implementing a program in my area.
(PLEASE PRINT)

Name Title_____
Organization_____
Address_____
City State_____ Zipcode _____

HAWK Project Profile

A Federation of Manhood Training & Development Programs

Preface

As a Black family Think-tank, The Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, Inc. is mandated to address issues of Black human development and transformation and, in response to these issues to engage in research, education and training and development and dissemination. The fundamental guiding principle for the Institute's work is to formally re-introduce into the African community cultural mandates, functions and expectations designed to stimulate the community's production of indigenous processes which have the capacity to resist negative agents and/or prevent the development of attitudes, ideas and/or behaviors antithetical to the African community's own well-being, welfare and viability. In so doing, we engage in the revitalization of the Black community and the re-unification of the Black family by reclaiming, evaluating and applying African and African-American cultural precepts.

The HAWK programme evolved from the Institute's application of this strategy to respond to the need of one local school district to address the issue of deviant Black male behavior relative to teen-age pregnancy.

Introduction

If the educational system is to promote the positive development of the Black man-child then it must participate in if not actually develop pathway(s) of positive development through which the Black man-child passes in order to attain the status of "man" in the community. The critical ecological forces impinging on the Black family are such that the Black parent has the added task of protecting their children, particularly, the man-child, from a hostile environment that has an ever-diminishing capacity to recognize the sanctity of human life. Educating as well as parenting the Black man-child is fraught with additional problems and concerns (i.e., sexism and racism) in a society that denies the very identity and legitimacy of Black manhood. It has been, in this regard, noted that the Black population, and particularly male adolescents, are constantly bombarded by "macroaggressions" in which they are hindered in their attempts to realize basic functional imperatives required for normal adjustment and human functioning. The multiple interactional and mutually reinforcing effects of racism, sexism and stress condition young Black men to oftentimes display deviant behavior (hostility, criminalization, gangs,unemployment, sense of worthlessness) and/or opt for addictive escapism (i.e., sexual conquest, drugs, violence, etc.).

The Institute's work on human functioning supports the fact that the substance or foundation of all behavior is a set of 'ideas' which give the behavior license and direction. Accordingly, the necessary condition for behavioral change is a change in the 'ideas' held to be true by the actor. In order to provide the educational experience(s) that are necessary for the proper physical and intellectual growth and development of the Black man-child, school systems and/or community agencies have to institutionalize a conscious and deliberate process of altering the negative images that are imposed upon the Black man-child and develop

strategies designed to break the cycle of apathy, despair and hopelessness that pervades many of the urban communities in which Black children are raised.

The HAWK Programme was developed as an attempt to intentionally and overtly influence the values and moral character of young Black males. It is, in effect, a universal prevention-intervention programme that addresses simultaneously the problems of drugs, gang violence, academic failure and low aspirations and poor self-esteem.

The Mission:

The sole and singular mission of the HAWK training program is to overtly and intentionally develop competent, confident and conscious African-American men. Through a process of intentionally introducing to these young men the qualities, attributes, attitudes and responsibilities of African & African-American men of Excellence, the HAWK project stimulates in their character the desire to become high achievers and the best at whatever they do. In so doing, the HAWK process aims at developing in each young man (1) something which they do exceptionally well (competence); (2) a belief that whatever the task, they can be successful at it (confidence); and, (3) an awareness of the historical

Purpose of Education & The Role of Training

In the African tradition, education was not only seen as learning facts, figures, names and dates. Education was viewed as a process of "transformation" or change. The goal of education was to develop the learner and, through h/er, to bring about harmony, understanding and enlightenment in the world. As such the educational process went through

Education was governed by a particular attitude and training method. The attitude was one of excellence and high achievement. In order to create such an attitude, the primary or initial focus of training was to develop in the learner personal character, commitment and consciousness. Upon achieving the "attitude of excellence", the training then focused on the installation and mastery of skills (i.e., cognition, computing, comprehension, etc). The African cultural training methodology utilized

The HAWK training program reclaims the African tradition and has systematically created a training program for young African-American men which is designed to utilize the "attitude of excellence" and the educational goal of harmony, understanding and enlightenment to

The Educational & Developmental Relevance

In terms of education and developmental efforts, training which results in a willingness to sacrifice in order to achieve, a desire to attain wisdom, and a passion for knowledge, would be considered with the goal of developing competent, confident and conscious African American men. Such a training emphasis translates to a developmental process which stimulates achievement, knowing and wisdom. These, high achievement, wisdom and knowledge, if orchestrated properly become the basis for proper conduct and appropriate African American male behavior.

The Cultural & Intellectual Foundations of the HAWK Project

The HAWK programme is based on a cultural and intellectual heritage established by African men and women over four thousand years ago. At the dawn of human civilization, African people developed a society which was based on developing human virtue and mastery. This cultural and intellectual tradition was codified as the **Cardinal Virtues of MAAT** (righteousness, propriety, truth, etc.) and the **Principles of Initiatory Mastery** (mastery of one's thought, free from resentment, etc.). From the beginning of time to the present African-based societies have used various translations of the Virtues of MAAT and the Principles of Mastery to educate and develop their young.

In traditional African-American culture the African cultural and intellectual tradition was preserved and retained as the twin cultural themes of excellence and appropriateness. Combined, the Cardinal Virtues of MAAT, Principles of Mastery, and the Cultural Themes of Excellence and Appropriateness serve as the developmental stimuli for the HAWK programme.

Developmental Stimuli

By developmental stimuli is meant those "ideas" which serve as the "substance of behavior" and its further guidance. Ideas are transmitted or internalized in the form of values, task and themes. The Cardinal Virtues of MAAT, Principles of Mastery and the Cultural Themes of Excellence and Appropriateness are the developmental stimuli used by the HAWK Programme to guide the development of African-American male behavior.

Cardinal Virtues of MAAT	Principles of Mastery	Cultural Themes
Truth	Mastery of One's Thought	Sense of Excellence
Justice	Mastery of One's Behavior	Sense Appropriateness
Righteousness	Devotion to Higher Purpose	
Propriety	Faith in One's Teacher	
Balance	Faith in Oneself	
Harmony	Faith in One's ability	
Order	Free from Resentment/wrong	
	Free from Resentment/wronged	
	Ability to Tell Right from Wrong	
	Ability to Tell Difference between the Real and the Unreal.	

Internalization Strategy

The overall training strategy is to systematically expose the young men to thinking (literature, folktales, fables, proverbs, etc); feeling (introspection, values clarification, etc) and doing (kinesthetics, rituals, drama, etc) experiences designed to reinforce and inculcate the message and meaning of each developmental stimuli.

Training Rationale and Project Identity

Without question, in the realm of psychological functioning, ideas are the substance of human behavior. However, to maximize the idea's power to influence behavior, the idea(s) must be relevant to the people whose behavior one wishes to change. Hence, for this project, the source and legitimacy of the "culturally accurate and appropriate ideas" had to be recognizably relevant to the cultural reality of its participants.

The Project Identity:
From the Sign of Heru, the Hawk, To Avery Brooks' Hawk.

In terms of an appropriate identity for a project designed to culturally realign Black male students behavior with principles of conduct consistent with the highest levels of human functioning, we chose the name HAWK, in part, because our research showed that the Black community, especially Black men, watched the television program "Spencer for Hire" (circa 1987, ABC), in which the actor Avery Brooks portrayed a Black man named Hawk. Upon further analyses of Mr. Brooks character, it was patently clear that the Black community's attraction to the program, "Spencer for Hire", was because Avery Brooks portrayed an image of a Black man who was competent, confident and conscious. Hence, as a

The second reason for selecting HAWK as the project name and identity was because classical African mythology identifies a Hawk as the sign of Heru (Horus), the first known mythical god hero. Ancient Kemet (Egypt), as the seat of ancient African high culture and civilization, has special relevance for the Institute's manhood training program's. The mythical god hero, Heru, signified by the Hawk, the ancient cardinal virtues of MAAT and the principles of initiatory mastery, all serve as the bases for developing the foundation of this specific

Accordingly, from the ancient Nile Valley High Culture to the modern land of television, the image of the Hawk has represented and symbolized the highest levels of Black Male functioning.

The HAWK Manhood Training Rationale:

In fact, the substance or foundation of all behavior is a set of 'ideas' which give the behavior license and direction. Accordingly, the necessary condition for behavioral change is a change in the 'ideas' held to be true by the actors. In regards to changing the inappropriate behavior in Black adolescent males, it was necessary to identify and understand the 'ideas' they hold which give legitimacy and direction to their misconduct. Having accomplished the task of exploring these 'ideas', the deviant 'ideas' must be replaced with appropriate 'ideas' which in turn will become the substance of the desired behavior. Once the appropriate ideas and behavior are provided it is necessary for the socio-cultural reality in which the adolescent male lives to reinforce, encourage and reward the desired behavior. This latter point is most often accomplished with the dual techniques of respect for self and kind (race) and uncompromising discipline.

It is the opinion of the Institute that teenage pregnancy prevention, male inappropriate sexual behavior, gang violence, etc. are cultural phenomena. Hence, the task of changing the inappropriate behavior is, in effect, a task of 'culturally realigning' the student behavior with principles of conduct consistent with the highest level of human functioning. In effect, student behavior which is based on culturally distorted ideas must be realigned with culturally accurate and appropriate 'ideas'.

PROFILES OF COMPETENT, CONFIDENT & CONSCIOUS AFRICAN & AFRICAN-AMERICAN MEN

Historical Profiles

The analysis of historical profiles of African men of Excellence is a core theme in the development of young African American men. By studying the lives and accomplishments of real African and African American men, the HAWK training process establishes an real life tradition of Black Excellence and links that tradition to the personal lives of the trainees.

The lives of several African men of Excellence are intentionally selected to match the intent of the particular program modules. These, in turn, are studied to demonstrate examples of Competence, Confidence and Consciousness as well as the Spiritual Virtues and Mastery of Skills typical of African Men of Excellence. Each "Historical Profile", in turn, becomes a stimulus for giving the HAWK trainees especially designed mastery, mental and physical assignments.

Declaration of Competence: Each historical profile is examined in order to identify how the life and accomplishments of the particular African Man of Excellence serves as a "Declaration of Competence". In the analysis of the lifestyle and/or accomplishments of the historical figure, the task will be to explicate the way in which he demonstrated Competence.

As a declaration of Competence, the lifestyle and/or accomplishment of the historical figure must show, as an attribute of African Manhood, the need for excellence in mastering Life's challenges.

Declaration of Confidence: Each historical profile is examined in order to identify how the life and accomplishments of the particular African Man of Excellence serves as a "Declaration of Confidence". In the analysis of the lifestyle and/or accomplishments of the historical figure, the task will be to explicate the way in which he demonstrated Confidence. Confidence is a feeling that permeates the individual's entire life and imparts upon his sense of well being.

As a declaration of Confidence, the lifestyle and/or accomplishment of the historical figure must show as an attribute of African Manhood, the courage to accept and meet any challenge in life on behalf of one's people.

Declaration of Consciousness: Each historical profile is examined in order to identify how the life and accomplishments of the particular African Man of Excellence serves as a "Declaration of Consciousness". In the analysis of the lifestyle and/or accomplishments of the historical figure, the task will be to explicate the way in which he demonstrated the importance of knowing who one is as a person and as an African man.

As a declaration of Consciousness, the lifestyle and/or accomplishment of the historical figure must show as an attribute of African Manhood, an understanding of one's identity and the recognition of its value in achieving greatness.

SAMPLE OF LEVEL ONE - NINTH GRADE DAILY LESSON PLANS OVERVIEW

Session # 1:	Cultural Understanding Training
Session # 2:	Establishing HAWK Identity
Session # 3:	Establishing HAWK Identity (cont.)
Session # 4:	Inappropriate Behavior: Sexual Irresponsibility, Drug Abuse, Drug-related Behavior, Gang Violence
Session # 5:	Inappropriate Behavior, (cont.); Sexually transmitted diseases, biology of reproduction, self & socially destructive behavior
Session # 6:	Culturally consistent/appropriate male behavior, attitudes, values, Re: Self & Family
Session #7:	Culturally consistent/appropriate male behavior, attitudes, values, Re: Peers & School
Session # 8:	Culturally consistent/appropriate male behavior, attitudes, values, Re: Being an Adult & The Work World
Session # 9:	Culturally consistent/appropriate male behavior, attitudes, values, Re: The Community & The World
Session #10:	Breaking down stereotypes
Session #11:	Developing an Historical sense of Competent, Confident & Conscious Black Manhood - Historical Profiles Research Project - Discussion & Planning of HAWK "school/community activity"
Session #12:	Developing contemporary examples of Competent, Confident & Conscious Black Manhood - Rehearsing & Developing HAWK supported "school/community activity"
Session #13:	Initiation/ Rite of Passage into next level & exploration of Future Responsibilities
Session #14:	Ceremony and celebration

Note: Each Session will consist of two (2) meetings for two hours each

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The HAWK Daily Training Plan

Duration & Time Period: The HAWK Programme is designed to coincide with an academic school year. Each level of training lasts approximately seven months with two-hour training sessions weekly.

Training Design: Each training session is designed to reinforce the development of positive Black manhood. In every session, the Attitude of Excellence and the value of proper conduct (Appropriateness) along with mastery skills are systematically reinforced. Training

Primary Objectives: Each training session has as its primary objective one or more of the developmental stimuli which reinforce and shape behavior. Specific training topics reinforce the overall objective of exposing the

Training Procedures: Each session is governed by written training procedures which identify the internalization strategy to be used, task to be mastered,

Adoption/Replication Procedures

Agencies and/or community groups wishing to establish a HAWK project can do so by contacting:

Director of Education and Training
The Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, Inc.
P.O. Box 24739
Oakland, California 94623

The Institute's Hawk Programme includes setting up the local HAWK project, training identified agency staff or community personnel to be the on site HAWK trainers and monitoring and providing technical assistance to the project for the first year.

Typically projects are established with a minimum of Twenty trainees and two trainers. The fee for establishing a HAWK project includes a one time membership fee, cost of training, training materials and twelve months of technical assistance and monitoring. Trainer training consists of twenty-five hours of formal training and evaluation and four follow up quarterly monitoring and technical assistance site visits.

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PROSPECTUS

CENTER FOR APPLIED CULTURAL STUDIES AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

THE CENTER CONCEPT

It is proposed that a "CENTER FOR APPLIED CULTURAL STUDIES AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT" be developed as a University-based educational research, development and training center which is devoted to the identification, explication and application of culturally consistent educational pedagogy and praxis relative to African (Black) American educational excellence.

CENTER MISSION AND GOALS

The Mission: The fundamental and primary mission of the "Center for Applied Cultural Studies and Educational Achievement" will be to systematically and continually:

(1) study the generic problems and issues which impact on the educational success of African-American students;

(2) determine the cultural and systemic requisites necessary for the effective education of African-American students;

(3) engage in an on-going identification, evaluation and replication of applied culturally consistent educational techniques, methods, practice and programs relative to African-American educational excellence;

(4) develop authentic and/or innovative strategies, methods and techniques of effective culturally consistent educational applications; and,

(5) design and implement a procedure and/or process for the institutionalization of proven culturally consistent educational praxis at every level and aspect of the African-American educational experience.

First Year Developmental and Organizational Goals:

(1) design and/or create the requisite organizational structure, operational functions and institutional relationships necessary for establishing and/or obtaining support for the Center's permanent institutional existence;

(2) Design the center's organizational structure, operational procedures and 5-year development plan;

(3) Conceptualize and prepare major funding proposals; and,

(4) Establish a statewide and national network of scholars and practitioners committed to Applied Cultural Studies and African-American Educational Excellence.

First Year Operational Goals:

(1) Identify and determine the cultural and conditional requisites necessary for African-American educational access and success with the standard core and categorical educational programs; (2) Develop and/or design a system for monitoring and evaluating the education of African-American children in the California Public School system; (2) Design and/or adopt a system for recording, retrieving and analyzing African-American post-secondary educational performance and involvement data; (3) Design a plan for examining, evaluating and replicating successful African-American educational techniques, methods and programs; (4) Develop and design criteria for assessing educational excellence with African-American children; (5) Develop a system for identifying and retrieving model systems of effective educational practice relative to African-American children; (6) Catalog and coordinate the identification and implementation of the skills, theories and insights of African-American educational thinkers and practitioners; (7) Visit and/or review exemplary models of culturally-based educational systems and/or programs; (8) Identify the complimentary domains of educational and cultural practice relative to educational excellence; (9) Develop methods and procedures for testing and/or evaluating specific educational prototypes and/or non-traditional methodologies and materials relative to culture and educational excellence; and, (10) Develop a plan for establishing on-going teacher training relative to the pedagogical applications of African and African-American culture.

THE NEED AND JUSTIFICATION:

Available data indicate that the African-American community is facing an educational crisis throughout the nation. In California, a state which is rapidly becoming a "minority-majority" state, the situation is just as distressing. Across the state,in every school district, African-American students, on the average, are scoring below the national average in all subjects and across all grade levels. For those who succeed in higher education, the condition varies very little. Clearly, the importance of maximizing the educational potential and success of California's African-American youth is obvious. Failing to educate African-American children has resulted in clear and preventable economic strains on this society. However, to continue to fail to fully educate African-American children will most assuredly guarantee the creation of a disenfranchised caste and a system of educational apartheid in America.

The educational process, in fact, requires and utilizes an unstated "cultural schema" for the transmission of knowledge and understanding. In effect, the educational enterprise has a "cultural integrity". As such, if the cultural integrity of the educational process and the cultural schema or integrity of the children to be educated are not in line with each other, then the ability of the educational system to reach its fullest potential is retarded or limited.

Given the historical continuum of educational excellence that was rooted in the African and African-American cultural context, the educational success of African-American children may be tied directly to the "cultural integrity" of the educational experience. Accordingly, the application of a culturally consistent pedagogy and praxis may be critical to the resolution of the educational crises of African-American children. It is highly likely that the utilization of African and African-American cultural precepts in the education of African-American children can turn around the current condition of educational failure.

CONTACT:

Persons interested in receiving additional information about this project should contact:

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Chairman MILLER. Dr. Sullivan?

STATEMENT OF MERCER L. SULLIVAN, PH.D., SENIOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, VERA INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE, NEW YORK, NY

Dr. SULLIVAN. Good morning. I would like to tell you this morning about the research that I have conducted with young inner city males involved in crime.

I'm a socio-cultural anthropologist and I've conducted a number of studies with inner city teenagers in New York City over the past 15 years. The study I want to talk about this morning was conducted in the early 1980s with a grant from the National Institute of Justice.

We identified and built rapport with several dozen criminally involved young males in three low income neighborhoods of Brooklyn and developed profiles of their involvements with crime and drugs as they aged from their early teens to their early 1920's. We also tried to relate those career developments in crime and drugs to what was going on within the schools and in the labor market.

The three neighborhoods differed in race and ethnicity. One was predominantly African American, one predominantly Puerto Rican, one predominantly white. I understand that this committee is particularly interested in the problems of young black males and I will focus on those this morning. However, the value of our work is that it's comparative. What I want to show you is how different problems develop in different ways in neighborhoods that are really very close together, but which have very different structures of economic opportunity.

Before I describe our findings, let me briefly describe the existing state of social research on juvenile delinquency, its relationship to public policy and the kinds of new insights into these questions that I think are made possible by the rather unique nature of our comparative neighborhood-based research.

It used to be widely accepted both among social scientists and among the general public that poverty, racial discrimination and residence in deteriorated inner city environments were major causes of crime. During the 1960s, many social programs based on these premises were enacted which provided a wide range of innovative services attempting to reverse these assumed causal linkages.

Now, I think that many among the public still share these assumptions. But unfortunately, some influential academics have challenged the ideas that poverty, discrimination and segregation cause crime and other pathologies. At the same time, public support for crime prevention programs based on enhancing economic opportunities within inner city neighborhoods has declined significantly.

The reasons for these changes in research and policy are too complex for me to describe in detail here, but I would like to note one characteristic of most of the recent research that has been cited to debunk these previously widely held assumptions. Most of this research has focused on the characteristics of individuals to the almost total neglect of the characteristics of communities.

Without looking at the communities in which people grow up, it is impossible to assess their behavior accurately. It is only by examining the choices that are actually present within given local environments that we can validly understand the behavior of individuals. It is from this perspective that I will now describe our findings.

The two minority neighborhoods that we studied had much lower income levels and much higher crime rates than the white neighborhood, which was basically working class rather than poor. What we found, however, was that the crime careers of youths in all three neighborhoods started off very similarly and diverged over time as these youths confronted very basic differences in economic opportunity as well as differences in local level social control.

Both the white and the minority youths we studied engaged in acts of non-violent theft and in extensive and sometimes deadly street fighting while in the early and mid teens. I do want to point out that we looked for criminally involved individuals. I'm not saying that everybody from any of these neighborhoods was so involved.

As they grew older, however, many of the minority youth became much more heavily involved in crime as a source of regular income. Their crimes grew increasingly systematic and violent as they passed from their middle to their late teens. The white youths we studied did not follow this route as much for two reasons, both related to characteristics of their local neighborhood.

First, they had more access to youth employment, usually part-time, off-the-books and almost entirely located through family members and neighbors who were already employed in these businesses. Remember, we're talking about persons still of school age. Their access to this employment had nothing whatever to do with superior educational achievement. In fact, many of these white youths, had basic literacy problems and fully half of them eventually left school without diplomas.

Not only did these white youths have better access to employment than their minority peers, they also encountered much stricter local level social control. Teenagers who steal and sell drugs tend to begin doing so close to home. In this white, working class neighborhood, such behavior was not tolerated. Local adults either retaliated themselves directly, vigilante style, or they called the police.

In contrast, the minority youths faced a much different situation with respect both to employment opportunities and to the local social control environment. They had few family or neighborhood based connections to part-time jobs. About half the households in their neighborhoods lived in poverty, were supported by welfare, and were female headed. The high rates of female headed households were a result of the unavailability of decent employment for people of all ages, since adult males without stable employment do not make very desirable heads of households.

This household pattern had profound consequences for the control of local youths who became involved in crime. There were simply not enough adult males attached to households to control predatory youths, with the result that violent youths controlled the streets to a significant extent.

At a certain point, however, they did encounter resistance in the form either of armed adult male residents of the neighborhood or of authorized representatives of the law. At this point, they began to move outside their own neighborhoods to prey upon people in the subways and in downtown commercial districts.

As they reached their later teens, many of these youths had learned to rely on crime as a regular source of income, but most eventually did encounter consequences: violent retaliations, arrests and jail and prison sentences. At this point, many began to cease or at least deintensify their criminal involvements.

I want to stress that this is not something that is unique to my research. It is well known that crime rates decline sharply with age for members of all racial and ethnic groups.

I've not had time to describe in detail patterns of drug use and sale among these youths, but I should note that while use patterns did not differ so strikingly among the neighborhoods, reliance on drug selling as a primary source of income did vary and was much more common in the minority neighborhoods. The advent of crack in the mid 1980's has led to a significant increase in violence and dependence on the illegal economy in all of these neighborhoods, but it has intensified the disparity in the quality of life between the minority neighborhoods and the white working class area even further.

I think these findings have some important implications for social policy. It has been traditional to think of crime control strategies based on opportunity enhancement as fundamentally opposed to those based on tougher criminal justice sanctions. In fact, these are two sides of the same coin.

When we look at the dynamics of local neighborhoods such as those I have described, I think it is apparent that communities that have effective local level social control are those that have a stable employment base. Decent jobs make possible intact families with sufficient resources to build and maintain safe environments. The poor, minority residents we studied did attempt to raise their children properly and control their environments. They simply lacked the means to do so.

The policies I think most appropriate for dealing with high rates of youth crime in the inner cities include innovative youth service policies which attempt to improve families' connections with schools and other services; the provision of extensive preemployment and employment services linked to local schools; and the development of criminal justice policies which allow local residents to work with the police and other authorities to create safer environments for raising children.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Mercer L. Sullivan, Ph.D., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MERCER L. SULLIVAN, PH.D., SENIOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, VERA INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE, NEW YORK, NY

Good morning. I would like to tell you about the research that I have conducted with young, inner-city males concerning their careers in schooling, employment, and criminal activity. I am a socio-cultural anthropologist by training and my studies have used intensive case study methods relying on in-depth interviews and participant observation. I have conducted a number of such studies with inner-city teenagers in New York City over the past fifteen years, but the study I want to concentrate on this morning was conducted in the early 1980's under a grant from the National Institute of Justice. We identified and built rapport with criminally involved young males in three low-income neighborhoods of Brooklyn and developed profiles of their involvements with crime and drugs as they aged from their early teens to their early twenties. The research results I am going to describe pertain to about a dozen young males in each of the three neighborhoods.

The three neighbrhoods differed in race and ethnicity, one being predominanly black, one predominantly Puerto Rican, and one predominantly white. I understand that this committee is particularly interesting in trying understand the high rates of crime among young black males, and I will focus on them. How-

ever, since the value of our studies is that they are comparative, I will explain both similarities and differences between the young minority males we studied and their non-minority peers.

Before I describe our findings, let me briefly describe the existing state of social research on juvenile delinquency, its relation to public policy, and the kinds of new insights into these questions that I think are made possible by the rather unique nature of our comparative, neighborhood-based studies.

It used to be widely accepted both among social scientists and among the general public that poverty, racial discrimination, and residence in deteriorated inner-city environments were major causes of crime. During the 1960's, many social programs based on these premises were enacted which provided a wide range of innovative services attempting to reverse these assumed causal linkages. I think that many among the public still share these assumptions, but some influential academics have challenged the idea that poverty, discrimination, and segregation cause crime and other pathologies. At the same time, public support for crime prevention programs based on enhancing economic opportunities within inner-city neighborhoodss has declined significantly.

The reasons for these changes are too complex for me to describe in detail here, but I would like to note one characteristic of most of the recent research that has been cited to

debunk these previously widely held assumptions. Most of this research has focused on the charcteristics of individuals to the almost total neglect of the characteristics of communities. Without looking at the communities in which people grow up, it is impossible to assess their behavior, such as their supposed "choices" to work or engage in crime as a means of obtaining income. It is only by examining the choices that are actually present within given local environments that we can validly understand the behavior of individuals. It is from this perspective that I will now describe our findings.

The two minority neighborhoods we studied had much lower income levels and much higher crime rates than the white neighborhood, which was basically working class rather than poor. What we found, however, was that the crime careers of youths in all three neighborhoods started off very similarly and diverged over time as these youths confronted very basic differences in economic opportunity as well as differences in local-level social control.

Both the white and the minority youths we studied engaged in acts of non-violent theft and in extensive and sometimes deadly street-fighting while in their early and mid-teens. As they grew older, however, many of the minority youths became much more heavily involved in crime as a source of fairly regular income. Their crimes grew increasingly systematic and violent as they passed from their middle to their late teens.

The white youths we studied did not follow this route as much, for two reasons, both related to characteristics of their local neighborhood. First, they had much more access to youth employment, usually part-time and off-the-books and almost entirely located through family members and neighbors who were already employed in these businesses. Remember, we are talking about persons still of school age. Their access to this employment had nothing whatever to do with superior educational achievement. In fact, some of them had basic literacy problems and fully half of them left school without diplomas.

Not only did these white youths have better access to employment than their minority peers, they also encountered much stricter local-level social control. Teenagers who steal and sell drugs tend to begin doing so close to home. In this white, working-class neighborhood, such behavior was not tolerated. Local adults either retaliated themselves directly, vigilante-style, against local youths who got too far out of hand, or they called the police. Their close relationship with the local police precinct was often based on ties between family and neighbors, since a number of police officers lived in the neighborhood.

In contrast, the minority youths faced a much different situation with respect both to employment opportunities and the local social control environment. They had few family or neighborhood-based connections to part-time jobs. About half the households in their neighborhoods lived in poverty and were

supported by welfare. Those residents who did work usually worked at very insecure and low-paying jobs. High rates of female-headed households in these areas were another result of the unavailability of decent unemployment in these areas, since adult males without stable employment do not make very desireable heads of households. This household pattern had profound consequences for the control of local youths who became involved in crime. There were simply not enough adult males attached to households to control predatory youths, with the result that violent youths controlled the streets to a significant extent. At a certain point, however, they did encounter resistance, in the form either of an armed adult male resident of the neighborhood or of an authorized representative of the law. At this point, they began to move outside their own neighborhoods to prey upon people in the subways and in downtown commercial districts.

As they reached their later teens, many of these youths had learned to rely on crime as a fairly regular source of income, but most eventually also encountered consequences: violent retaliations, arrests and jail and prison sentences. At this point, many began to cease or at least deintensify their criminal involvements. It is well known that crime rates decline sharply with age, for members of all racial and ethnic groups.

I have not had time to describe in detail patterns of drug use and sales among these youths, but I should note that, while

use patterns did not differ so strikingly among the neighborhoods, reliance on drug-selling as a primary source of income did and was much more common in the minority neighborhoods. The advent of crack in the mid-1980's has led to a significant increase in violence and dependence on the illegal economy in all three neighborhoods but has intensified the disparity in the quality of life between the minority neighborhoods and the white working-class area even further.

I think these findings have some important implications for social policy. It has been traditional to think of crime control strategies based on opportunity enhancement as fundamentally opposed to those based on tougher criminal justice sanctions. Yet, when we look at the dynamics of local neighborhoods such as those I have described, I think it is apparent that communities that have effective local-level social control are those that have a stable employment base. Decent jobs make possible intact families with sufficient resources to build and maintain safe environments. Even the poor, minority residents we studied did attempt to raise their children properly and control their environments, yet they lacked the means to do so.

The policies I think most appropriate for dealing with high rates of youth crime in the inner cities include innovative youth service policies which attempt to improve families' connections with schools and other services; the provision of extensive pre-employment and employment services linked to local schools; and the development of criminal justice policies which allow local residents to work with the police and other authorities to create safer environments for raising children.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Lewis.

STATEMENT OF DONALD R. LEWIS, DIRECTOR, NEHEMIAH PROJECT, ANNANDALE, VA

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, and members of this committee, I want to thank you for both your attention to the unique challenges facing America's young black men and for your invitation to me and the perspective I bring.

I am the Director of the Nehemiah project, a counseling and seminar-based effort involving helping black men back to their responsibilities as husbands, fathers, and responsible community leaders.

Mr. Chairman, modern dictionaries define government almost exclusively as civil government. However, Webster's 1828 Dictionary provided a far more layered and textured definition of various levels of government: personal, familial, and church, as well as the state. Wise societies always recognize and strengthen other realms of government, other "jurisdictions." The condition of the black family is a tragic and graphic illustration of our society's failure to respect and support the other legitimate realms of authority.

For example, historically, family government has encouraged, if not forced, its members to come to grips with issues such as selfishness, coping with disappointment, personal responsibility, sharing, aggression, forgiveness, as well as forcing its members to develop learning skills, marketable trade skills. Family government has taught children the art of sacrificing personal interests for the family purpose. Personal gratification boundaries were clearly defined by parental authority. Strong—and male-directed—family government produced clear personal government. As a child myself, I knew that if I did not exercise "responsible government" of my personal behavior, the next level of government would take over. That reality molded clear personal identify, security, confidence, and personal discipline.

Historically, for many (especially in the black community) the church has also represented a distinct level of "government." For generations, the black church provided a disenfranchised people with their only opportunity to exercise self government. It gave a sphere of influence that was not allowed in any other arena. Therefore, the black church became the center for social and political activities, resolving intra-community conflicts, and finding mates. Surrounded by moral, ethical, and spiritual standards and generally responsible adults who loved the children, kids soon learned that the local church took their well-being and behavior very seriously. "Church discipline" always supported and reinforced family government.

The institutions of church and family have served us well in the black community. In addition to their other purposes, church and family have represented character formation and behavioral constraint which formed personal disciplines. I must say to the distinguished members of this committee, civil government cannot replace and it must not weaken the church, the family or any other valid governing institution. The cost for such intrusion and presumption is too great.

Nowhere is the cost heavier than on America's young black men. Public policy has, for decades, been undermining and eroding the black family in general and fatherhood in specific. Public policy, in attempting to provide assistance for the deprived, has inadvertently encouraged others into the same patterns of deprivation. Too often, government assistance has financially penalized men who want to be married to the mother of their children. Through decades of social policy, well articulated and documented by Charles Murray and other respected analysts, the federal government has gutted and plundered the black community of its husbands and fathers.

The result is that boys learn that drugs and larceny are the fastest ways of making lots of cash. They simply don't have fathers who can teach and demonstrate the virtues of a healthy work ethic, the importance of sexual discipline and responsibility, the benefits of education, and the beauty of transcendent values. Therefore, they take their cues from other male influences—pimps, pushers, and thieves—in the community who seem to be "making it." Lacking a father's voice affirming identity, they also turn to street sex for a validation of their manhood.

The institutions of family and church have been the mainstay of a people that couldn't be destroyed by slavery, economic deprivation and other forms of racism. The undermining of those two basic governing influences has opened the door to drugs, crime, sexual promiscuity, unwanted children and the pervasive despair that has emasculated far too many of our young black men.

I would like to call to your attention Mr. William Raspberry's column in the Washington Post, July 18, 1989, last week. He wrote: "If I could offer a single prescription for the survival of America, and particularly of black America, it would be: restore the family.

And if you asked me how to do it, my answer, doubtless oversimplified, would be save the boys. We can't rescue America's families unless we make up our minds to save the boys."

Mr. Chairman, today I call on the federal government to let the wonderful economy, efficiency, and effectiveness of our free society supply missing dimensions of government which will "save the boys." Let men, especially black men, know they are essential to a well ordered, healthy society. Let them know it "rests on their shoulders." They will rise to the challenge. I repeat, they will rise to the challenge.

Civil government must develop policies which will let the mystery of cultural instinct, (including free enterprise, family authority and church autonomy) balance and "course correct" our society.

Specifically, we must develop social policies which release people to utilize natural and learned skills, instincts, family resourcefulness and a host of other intangibles to achieve personal dreams and goals. (I want to also say that government must recognize that economic and social freedom also imposes a "freedom" to face anxiety, fear of failure and personal crisis without the constant "handholding" of federal assistance which necessarily diminishes normal maturation.)

Some recent concepts and initiatives provide some promising models for giving such release: tenant management, educational vouchers, tax credits for child care, and numerous grassroots pro-

grams which allow communities to develop and resolve social problems more naturally and in accordance with the unique peculiarities of those neighborhoods.

For example, I myself am working with a new community response here in the District of Columbia to address the crisis of the inner city. The program, called Save Our Youth, seeks to maximize and synchronize existing resources and programs in order to achieve optimum impact. Save Our Youth, through combining public and private sector efforts, recognizes the intrinsic resourcefulness of the community in giving an effective, coordinated response to the multi-dimensional social crisis threatening the youth of Washington, DC.

We must also learn to analyze and measure public policy by its impact on the family. Government must ask if specific policy proposals weaken or reinforce the stability and cohesion of the home, and in particular the black home. Policymakers must give serious scrutiny to the issue of how government can accord greater respect to the rights of parental government.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for this opportunity to address this venerable body from a practical perspective. I deeply appreciate your interest in and commitment to the well-being of manhood in the black community.

Chairman MILLER. Well, thank you very much and thank all of you for your time and your testimony and your willingness to come and try to better inform us on a very troubling problem.

[Prepared statement of Donald R. Lewis follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DONALD R. LEWIS, DIRECTOR, THE NEHEMIAH PROJECT, ANNANDALE, VA

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Bliley, and members of this committee, I want to thank you for both your attention to the unique challenges facing America's young black men and for your invitation to me and the perspective I bring.

Mr. Chairman, I have many years experience as a practitioner in the inner city. I have worked with prisoners at the San Quentin, Lorton and other federal penitentiaries. I have extensive experience as a marriage and family counsellor in the inner city. I am presently the director of The Nehemiah Project, which is a major commitment to rebuilding families in the black community. The major focus of The Nehemiah Project is calling black men back to their responsibilities as husbands, fathers, and responsible community leaders. Within the past year, through seminars, conferences, and counselling, I have worked with several hundred dysfunctional individuals and families in the inner city. I know the inner city and I, most assuredly, know the problems and possibilities of young black men.

Mr. Chairman, modern dictionaries define government almost exclusively as civil government. However, *Webster's 1828 Dictionary* provided a far more layered and textured definition of

various *levels* of government: personal, familial, and church, as well as the state. Wise societies always recognize and strengthen other realms of government, other "jurisdictions." The condition of the black family is a tragic and graphic illustration of our society's failure to respect and support the other legitimate realms of authority.

For example, historically, *family* government has encouraged, if not forced, it's members to come to grips with issues such as selfishness, coping with disappointment, personal responsibility, sharing, aggression, forgiveness, etc. Family government has taught children the art of sacrificing personal interests for the family purpose. Personal gratification boundaries were clearly defined by parental authority. Strong - and male directed - family government produced clear *personal* government. As a child, I knew that if I did not exercise "responsible government" of my personal behavior, the next level of government would take over. That reality *molded* clear personal identity, security, confidence, and personal discipline.

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and finding mates. Surrounded by moral, ethical and spiritual standards and generally responsible adults who loved the children, kids soon learned that the local church took their well-being and behavior very seriously. "Church discipline" always supported and reinforced family government.

The institutions of church and family have served us well. In addition to their other purposes, church and family have represented character formation and behavioral constraint which formed personal disciplines. I must say to the distinguished members of this committee, civil government cannot replace and it must not weaken the church, the family or any other valid governing institutions. The cost for such intrusion and presumption is too great.

Nowhere is that cost heavier than on America's young black men. Public policy has, for decades, been undermining and eroding the black family in general and fatherhood in specific. Public policy, in attempting to provide assistance for the deprived, has inadvertently encouraged others into the same patterns of deprivation. Too often, government assistance (such as AFDC) financially penalizes men who want to be married to the mother of their children. Through decades of social policy, well articulated and documented by Charles Murray and other respected analysts, the federal government has gutted and plundered the black community of its husbands and fathers.

The result is that boys learn that drugs and larceny are the fastest ways of making lots of cash. They simply don't have fathers who can teach and demonstrate the virtues of a healthy work ethic, the importance of sexual discipline and responsibility, the benefits of education, and the beauty of transcendent values. Therefore, they take their cues from the other male influences - pimps, pushers, and thieves - in the community who seem to be "making it." Lacking a father's voice affirming identity, they also turn to street sex for a validation of their manhood.

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I would like to call your attention to William Raspberry's column in *The Washington Post* (July 18, 1989). He wrote:

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Civil government must develop policies which will let the mystery of *cultural instinct* (including free enterprise, family authority, and church autonomy) balance and "course correct" our society.

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We must also learn to analyze and measure public policy by its impact on the family. Government must ask if specific policy proposals weaken or reinforce the stability and cohesion of the home. Policymakers must give serious scrutiny to the issue of how government can accord greater respect to the rights of parental government.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Bliley, I want to thank you for this opportunity to address this venerable body from a practical perspective. I deeply appreciate your interest in and commitment to the well being of manhood in the black community.

Chairman MILLER. Let me say that we've been joined by a number of our colleagues who are not members of the Select Committee. We welcome that and look forward to their participation in the remainder of the morning. I will try, with some equity, to weave calling on people between membership in the committee and nonmembership and see if we can protect everybody's rights here the best we can.

Let me just start quickly here and then we'll go for a round of questions.

Dr. Sum, you paint a very troubling picture here in terms of earnings of young black men and all of the problems that a lack of earnings may bring about, all of the attendant problems. Two charts in your testimony that maybe you can expand on a little bit with us. That is your number 6, which is the percent of 18 to 29 year old black, non-Hispanic males who were married and living with their spouses by level of earnings.

Let me ask you just this question. In the chart, obviously, as the earnings go higher, it suggests that the number of men living with their spouses is much greater. A number of the young black men we're talking about here are let's say 16, 17, 18 where you would not expect earning levels at the outset certainly to be very high. What implication does that have in terms of young black men who also may be engaged in sexual activity, may have fathered a child and still, because of age, education, what have you, have very little chance, certainly if income is determinate, to be living with a spouse?

Does that make sense to you?

Dr. SUM. I believe so. The interpretation is a fair one. It's also true that marriage probabilities tend to be associated with age, and as people get older, their earnings rise and are more likely to be married.

There's been an on-going discussion as to what is underlying the decline in marriage among all young men, but particularly among young black men. Most of the focus has been on looking at whether or not young black men are able to get a job.

What I tried to argue in the report is that what's true for black men is true for white males and Hispanic males. It is not the ability to just have a job or even the type of job that one has that determines whether or not one really is marriageable. If all the committee members themselves asked themselves a question about whom they would consider to be a prospective suitor for their daughter, whether or not somebody were employed would probably only be the first question, not the last one, that you would ask.

Basically, what the available evidence suggests is that the likelihood of marriage is far greater among those people that have adequate earnings. So, as adequate earnings have declined, one would anticipate that one of the factors associated with that trend would be a declining ability to raise and support families and to be considered a desirable marriage partner. That basically is what has taken place. About half of the decline in marriage among young black men without college seems to be associated with their declining earnings.

Now, those declining earnings weren't inevitable. The situation that I've described in the paper over the last 14 years is just the

opposite of what took place in the preceding 14 years. If you look at 1959 to 1973, real earnings of young black men were up 59 percent, and now down 28 percent since 1973. During that same time period, marriage rates among young black men stayed firm between 1959 and 1973, and they collapsed after 1973.

Now, there are those that say, "But there are a lot of other things going on in society," and I agree. That's why I'm not an economic determinist. I'm not of the Tina Turner/Gary Becker theory of marriage, "What's love got to do with it?" But basically, the fact of the matter is that these declining earnings, I believe, are major contributing factors. What we need to do is ask ourselves what can we do as a nation to make it possible for more young men without college education to be able to get access to jobs that and can support families? That is the indicator that we ought to use in determining how well the economy is doing for young black men. It's not enough to look at how many are working or how many work year round, but for how many have we achieved adequate earnings.

What I didn't address in my testimony is a whole variety of things that I think have to get done to accomplish that. But, as a country, we have not given much financial support, directly or indirectly, for those young men who decide to enter the labor market immediately after leaving high school. The very thin support that we give to young men in apprenticeship programs and structured training programs really is a national disgrace.

I think that one thing the Committee should give substantial attention to is how to change the way we finance the post-high school training and education of young men and women. Providing much more support for structured, on-the-job training and apprenticeship training I believe would help turn part of this around.

So, therefore, what we need to do is ask ourselves, what can we do as a country to make it possible for us to boost these real earnings? The answer is there's a variety of things that would have to get done. We really need to give much more attention to investment in young men from the time they leave school to the time they become adults to make it possible for them to secure adequate earnings. It's not only in their interest, it's in the interest of their communities and it's in the interest of our country.

Chairman MILLER. Well, I think that the chart has suggested—I think when we look at the reasons marriages break up in America, the first or second or third reason is economic stress, families that find out that—even though they've started out down the road of marriage, find out they can't hold it together. We certainly find this out when economic downturns come.

This committee has looked at what's happened to families in major economic dislocations in the steel industry and other industries. Many families just found out, farm families and others just found out they couldn't hold it together in the face of those economic pressures.

But let me back up on that chart a little bit. Dr. Garibaldi, you're suggesting that there's a very strong perception among people who are responsible for educating young black men that these young black men don't have a chance to succeed or won't succeed or can't succeed. One of the figures when you break down your teachers suggests that 65 percent of the teachers you surveyed

were African American, suggesting that this is a perception that black teachers are carrying with them when they enter a classroom and start looking at their caseload, if you will, their student load, that the young black men in that class aren't destined for success.

Does that mean they then put in—does that result in putting in less effort or treating these students differently? We have looked at other groups within schools and matched teachers' perceptions and actual outcome and it's alarming and very disappointing to see how it works out. But is that what you're saying is happening here too even among black teachers?

Dr. GARIBALDI. Well, what makes my study more interesting and somewhat unique is the fact that New Orleans happens to be one of those cities, as are many cities in the South, where the majority of the teachers are nonwhite. You don't find that in many major cities all across the country, but the fact that 6 out of every 10 teachers, when asked if they believe their black male students will go to college said no, makes that finding even more serious.

Chairman MILLER. I would assume that New Orleans has an exceptional number of young black men who were in college because you have black colleges in greater numbers than elsewhere. So, I mean the role model may also be present in the community to some extent.

Dr. GARIBALDI. Well, it is, but I wouldn't say exceptional. We have three institutions, my own institution, Dillard University and also Southern University. But, in fact, as many of the local social scientists have discovered on many occasions, we have more men in the local penal institutions than we do in those three institutions combined. So, we have a great deal——

Chairman MILLER. That's true nationwide.

Dr. GARIBALDI. That's right and we have a great deal to do even with historically black institutions which work very, very hard at getting students, particularly male students, into college.

What I see from these negative self-fulfilling prophecies which are exhibited by black teachers as well as white teachers is the fact that social distance becomes a very, very important issue. When we're talking about social distance, we're talking about perceptions and we're talking about this mismatch that exists between the socioeconomic status of teachers, which despite their salaries might put them in the middle class, and these young people who are much more poor because the majority of our public school system happens to have students who are largely nonwhite and also who come from poor backgrounds.

But I make the point to say that in some instances it may not matter what the racial or cultural or ethnic affiliations of the teacher may be. These same individuals are swayed by the negative images that they see in the media, especially on TV, and it becomes very easy for people to assume that every one of those individuals have the same expectations for those young people or they may have those same aspirations.

That's why I make the point that I continue to be astonished by lots of individuals in our community, particularly the black community, who say that it is almost unrealistic to believe that these young men will want to pursue an education when, in fact, they

see all of these signs of immediate gratification, the quick cash and the like, in those particular communities.

But once again, even as we asked the students in our study of black males if they expected to finish high school, 95 percent of them said that they did and 60 percent of them said that their teachers did not set high enough goals for them. So, they do want something, and here is an instance where we have to listen to those things that may not be as obvious as some of the other signs and portrayals that we see of young men.

Moreover, the fact that in New Orleans 70 percent of the teachers in our survey had ten or more years of experience, 65 percent of them were black, and the fact that they said that they did not expect their black male students to go to college was a very strong indictment that these expectations of young men happen in those very early years. That's a message for all teachers and for the entire community, namely, that we have to change that misperception of these young men and set other high goals for them and promot business and medicine and law and teaching for these young men rather than promoting their athletic prowess and careers in entertainment.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Mr. Walsh?

Mr. WALSH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I'd like to ask the chairman that we enter Mr. Bliley's statement.

Chairman MILLER. Without objection.

Mr. WALSH. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Thomas J. Bliley, Jr., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS J. BLILEY, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA AND RANKING REPUBLICAN MEMBER

POSSIBILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICA'S YOUNG BLACK MEN

The subjects of today's hearing, young black men, have been studied for decades. The family life and culture of inner city black men has long been researched for clues to break the cycle of poverty. But the disturbing indicators lead us back again to this subject:

Forty percent of the 20- to 24-year-old black male dropouts had no job in all of 1986.

While the unemployment rate for white males was 4 percent in April 1989, the unemployment rate for black men was 10.0 percent; 30.8 percent of black teenagers were unemployed compared to 12.3 percent of white teens.

Even though young black males comprise only 13 percent of the young male population, black unwed fathers account for over 60 percent of all unwed fathers.

The more specific topic for this hearing can be posed as a question: Do young black men have the capacity for escaping poverty? First, we must forcefully affirm that they do. We must reject the notion that the environment of poverty dooms an individual to failure. Second, we recognize that as we search for answers, this question is often divided into an economic one and a social one.

We find that work is the essential key not only to the economic question, but also the social question. Work teaches the values of responsibility, and indeed is a value in itself. Successful employers know that the product of labor is not merely a good or a service, but also a citizen who contributes to society as a whole. And, finally, work is a condition which must be met for the formation of families.

History teaches us that economic progress is a consequence of social organization. Just as the wealth of nations depends on social stability, so too does the development of communities. Nations cannot prosper in times of war or civil unrest. Communities which must allocate resources in the war against drugs and crime will not be able to invest that capital in people.

The problem we face in the urban areas is not a mystery of science and tecnology waiting to be unlocked, but one that is within our grasp. We must organize the

interconnections among groups necessary for economic progress. Then there must be a willingness and a vision to take risk, as did the merchants and explorers and innovators of the past. Just as countries in the early years of economic development appealed to their people's pride of nationalism, so too must inner cities appeal to the pride in their schools, churches, and community service organizations.

This brings us to ask: What are these interconnections and who should organize them? Who will take the risk to begin the social change for the young, black, urban men?

Today, we will hear from some of the experts who have taken the risk. Dr. Joan Davis Ratteray will provide testimony regarding the role of independent neighborhood schools in meeting the educational needs of black communities. Don Lewis will describe how his community service activities with the Nehemiah project introduce black men to possibilities and opportunities.

Our message to the black young men of America should be clear:

You do have a share in building the future and are heirs to the work of prior generations.

We need you to develop the skills to enter the work force and to take the place of the generation before you.

In order to be truly free, you must use your own freedom for doing good. There are forms of poverty other than economic. Merely redistributing income will mean that any progress will be only temporary. True liberation from all poverty requires social concern for others and conformance to moral norms.

The primary connection between social and economic progress is still that irreplaceable, failsafe system which keeps civilization from self-destructing, the family. This is true for all generations regardless of their heritage. The family is the starting place for possibilities and opportunities.

The development of a coherent public policy cannot be reduced to merely an accounting procedure. All existing and new policies should be reexamined in the light of their impact on family formation and stability, as is the promise of Executive Order 12606 on the Family. Under this Order, the Executive Branch must assess all regulations as to whether they are helping the family perform its function, or are actually weakening the family structure. Congress would do well to adopt a similar strategy when considering legislation. Economic and social progress for urban black men and our nation depends on strong families, and federal social programs will never be an effective substitute.

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U.S. House of Representatives
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES
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WASHINGTON, DC 20515

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POSSIBILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICA'S YOUNG BLACK MEN

Minority Fact Sheet

July 25, 1989

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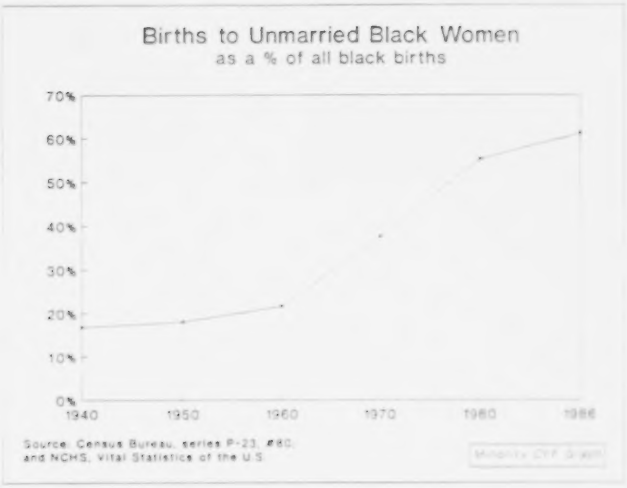
Prepared by Cathy Caridi and Scott Bailey



Black Family Structure and Unwed Fatherhood

- The percentage of births to black unmarried women has increased dramatically since 1940. In 1940, 16.8% of all black children were born to unmarried women, while in 1986 the figure was 61.8%. (Census Bureau, Current Population Reports p-23, and Vital Statistics of the United States, NCHS.)

- The percentage of black households headed by females has also increased rapidly since 1940. In 1940, 17.9% of black families had female heads, while in 1987 the figure was 41.8%. (Census Bureau, Current Population Reports p-20 and p-23.)

- The rate of black unwed fatherhood is so high that blacks account for over 60% of all young unwed fathers, even though their share of the young male population is only 13%. ("A National Profile of Young Unwed Fathers: Who are They and How are They Parenting?" Robert Lerman, October 1986.)

- Although relatively little research has been done on young black fathers, the evidence thus far shows that the bonds between young black fathers and adolescent mothers are not casual. After surveying the available research, Dr. Robert Hill of the Institute for Urban Studies concluded that "most of the fathers feel an obligation to provide cash or in-kind

support for their children.... Although research indicates that the overwhelming majority of young black single fathers want to be responsible parents, it is equally clear that most of them are not able to perform that role adequately." ["Adolescent Male Responsibility in African-American Families," Robert B. Hill, March 1988.]

- There are important employment and education differences between unwed fathers and other young men of the same age. Unwed fathers (in survey year 1984) had worse school and work backgrounds than young men who do not become fathers. Backgrounds of unwed fathers exhibited more drug use and criminal behavior than other young men. High income lowered the likelihood of unwed fatherhood. In the case of reading comprehension, young men with more ability were less likely to become unwed fathers. Among young men with similar sexual activity, test scores, and prior school and work status, blacks had significantly higher rates of unwed fatherhood than others. [Ibid.]

- Family background significantly influences the chances of unwed fatherhood. Having a low family income and having lived in a welfare household increases the probability that a man would become an unwed father. [Ibid.]

- A study using data from the Urban Poverty & Family Structure Survey of 2490 inner-city residents in Chicago showed "substantial racial or ethnic differences in the percentage of men who fathered their first child after marriage: 22% of black fathers, 64% of Mexicans, and 62% of non-Hispanic whites conceived their first child after marriage. ["Employment and Marriage Among Inner-City Fathers," Mark Testa et al, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1989.]

- The absence of a parent dramatically increases current poverty of children. And growing up in a poor family and in a mother-headed family increases the chances that a child will become poor as an adult. ["Employment Opportunities of Young Men and Family Formation," Robert Lerman, AEA Papers and Proceedings, May 1989.]

- Living in a mother-only family increases a black person's odds of dropping out of school by more than 30% to 50%. [Bumpass, Larry and Sara McLanahan, "The Effect of Family Structure on School Enrollment: A Comparison of Seven Racial an Ethnic Groups," Institute for Research on Poverty, Madison, Wisconsin, May 1987.]

Employment

- There has not been any significant narrowing of the historical gap between the labor market indicators for blacks and whites. In April 1989, the unemployment rate for black men was 10.0%, while the rate for whites was 4.0%. For teenagers, black unemployment was 30.8% and for whites the figure was 12.3%. [US Dept. of Labor, Fact Sheet on Black Workers, 1988.]

- Forty percent of 20-24 year-old black male dropouts had no job during all of 1986. ["Job-Based Education: A Mainstream Reform with a Hidden Agenda," Robert Lerman, October 1988.]

- The historically higher jobless rate for black workers is associated with many factors, including their younger average age, lower levels of schooling, and their tendency to be employed in occupations which are more subject to unemployment. Other factors include their greater concentration in the central cities of our urban areas, where the available jobs often require high education and skills, and the fact that they may be subject to discrimination in the workplace. [US Dept. of Labor, Fact Sheet on Black Workers, 1988.]

- The earnings levels of blacks are much lower than whites. The median weekly earnings for black men working at full-time jobs was $326 in 1987, 72% of the figure for white men ($450). [Ibid.]

- A study using data from the Urban Poverty & Family Structure Survey of 2490 inner-city residents in Chicago showed that paternal employment is positively related to the odds of a father's marrying the mother. Further, the higher a man and woman's joint earnings potential, the more likely they are to marry. ["Employment and Marriage Among Inner-City Fathers," Mark Testa et al, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1989.]

Education

- The populations not graduating from high school have declined for both whites and blacks. In 1975, 14.7% of whites and 27.0% of blacks aged 18-21 had not graduated high school. In 1986, 13.1% of whites and 16.5% of blacks aged 18-21 had not graduated. Although the black rate has declined faster than the white rate, the black percentage rate is still 3.4 points higher than the white rate. [Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, series P-20, nos. 303 and 429.]

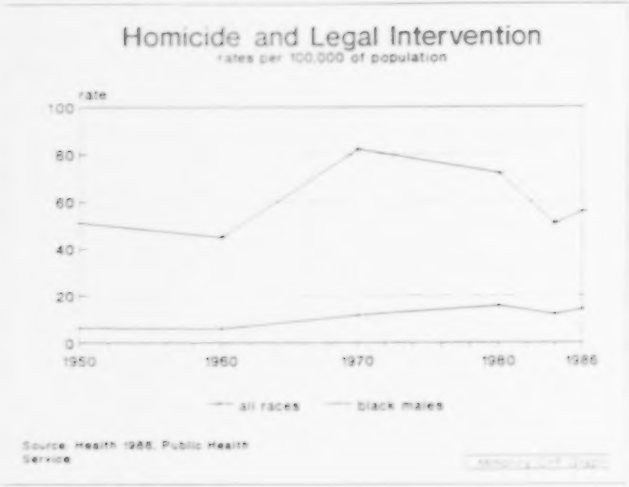
- The National Assessment of Education Progress conducts periodic tests of students' skills in reading and mathematics. The reading proficiency score has been rising for black students, but their score still lags behind whites: the average score for black 17 year-olds is 261; the figure for whites is 295. The same relationship holds true for mathematics: the average number of correct answers on the math test is 45% for black 17 year-olds; it is 61% for whites. [U.S. Department of Education, National Assessment of Educational Progress, The Reading Report Card, and unpublished data]

- Students from poor families are three to four times more likely to forgo completing high school than those from more affluent families. [Ibid.]

- In urban centers over the past two decades, job losses have been heaviest in fields that require less than a high school education, and job growth has been greatest in fields requiring at least some post-secondary education. ["Visions of A Better Way," Essay by the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1989.]

Mortality Among Young Black Males

- For black males 15-24, the death rate for all causes declined by 50% from 1970 to 1984; since then it increased from 164 per 100,000 to 190.5. The current statistic for white males of the same age group is 145.9. [Health 1988, United States, DHHS/PHS March 1989]



- As of 1986, murder is the leading cause of death among young black men. The homicide rate for young black males has historically been far higher than for the general population, and it is currently 8 times higher. [Ibid.]

- From 1970 to 1984, the homicide rate for young black men declined; but since then, it has risen by 29%. [Ibid.]

Mr. WALSH. I'd like to stay with Dr. Garibaldi for a moment, if I could.

Just talking about the city of New Orleans and the number of black institutions, black colleges, are those colleges operating at capacity? Are the students who are marginal in terms of their ability to qualify for college, are they being denied access to colleges because of economics, because of scholastics, because of full colleges?

Dr. GARIBALDI. Well, if you ask about capacity, we are busting at the seams. We have had record enrollments for the last two years and are likely to see that for the coming year as well in terms of our freshman class. We literally don't have the space to accommodate all of these students. We have made some very specific efforts to assure that students who want to apply and who want to be admitted, particularly those who are black males, get in in some kind of way. So, we have made some specific provisions for that.

In the case of the other institutions, Dillard University and Southern University of New Orleans, as well as many other historically black institutions in this country, the majority of them have had record enrollments over the last couple of years.

The fact remains though that many young men who probably are eligible to enter college do not enter college because of their own perceptions about their lack of financial aid. In many of our schools, we don't provide enough information and assistance, through guidance officers and counselors, to let all students know that they are eligible for this aid.

We talk at Xavier often times of having standards with sympathy. What that essentially means is not that we take in students who will be expected to do less, but rather we take students who might have great high school grade point averages, not great standardized test scores, but whom we see as having the potential in order to succeed. So, we make a very special effort with every enrolling class to see that 10 to 15 percent of our student body or our classes come in who meet those particular criteria.

But the larger response is that the majority of students who are entering college who happen to be black would by no means meet the national average on the ACT or SAT. In most instances, only about 25 percent of all high school graduates who are black have been applying for college. In actual fact, the national average is approximately 33 percent.

What is more severe, however, is the fact that 43 percent of all black students in this country are in community colleges, 43 percent of the one million black students. Unfortunately, those institutions have transfer rates that are less than ten percent. So, many students who do go to a two year institution do not eventually go on to a four-year college.

I guess you're aware as I am of the study that has recently been done on vocational education in this country. When you look at nonwhite students, the completion rates, as well as the certification rates, of those individuals who go to those institutions are very, very low, less than 5 percent, from what I remember from the findings of that study.

Mr. WALSH. I should have said at the outset that I think I certainly, and I think most of the members of the panel would agree, that there are some very long lasting, very deep societal causes for

this problem we're discussing today. What we'd certainly like to get at is specific suggestions and I think some of you have made them, Dr. Nobles' HAWK Program, the magnet schools.

I'd like to ask Mr. Lewis one question.

Mr. Lewis, you stated that the condition of the black family is a tragic and graphic illustration of our society's failure to respect and support the other legitimate realms of authority. Would you expand on that a little bit?

Mr. LEWIS. The family is a government unit as well as the individual, of course. In our efforts to maximize civil government and its influence over family, we have minimized the distinction of the individual black family and its ability to walk on its own if we reinforce that family itself.

Some ways in which we could have done that and things that we can do today to do that, number one, we need to hold our media accountable for the messages it's communicating concerning the family. At this point in time, it is unpopular to be a family and it's even more unpopular to be a father. If we as a society were to reinforce the role of the father——

I'll give you a classic example that we see often. One of the more popular commercials is the beer commercials, whether it's Miller Lite or what have you. We see a gentleman leaving the office or leaving the work place. He goes to the bar and he sits down with the boys and he has a Miller beer. My question is, where are his kids? My question is, why didn't he go home and have a beer? My question is, why didn't he go home and ask his kids how they were doing while he was having that beer and there reinforce the role, that it is in vogue, it is in style to be a father, to be responsible, to be supportive and that is one way in which we, as a society, can support that governing institution that has been the mainstay of the black community.

Does that answer your question?

Mr. WALSH. That gets at the specific idea. Thank you very much.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Hayes?

Mr. HAYES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First let me express to you sincere appreciation for having the sense to meet. It's a privilege to be a part of this important hearing this morning because I'm not a member of this committee. I just feel honored to have the opportunity and I realize you're pressed for time, so I'm going to make my questions brief.

This, I guess, I can direct to anyone that cares to respond from the entire group. I want to commend all of you for what has been excellent testimony here.

How can we provide more exposure to diverse opportunities such as science, astronomy, media, et cetera, for young black men rather than the typical avenue of sports?

Dr. GARIBALDI. I'll give you a quick example from my own institution, Xavier, which is a historically black institution and which has been second in the country in sending black students to medical school for the last 10 years. We are second only to Howard, from all of the 3,500 institutions in this country. We send more black students to medical school every year. We do the same thing in terms of graduate programs.

But the point here is that many years ago, 10 to 15 years ago, we established summer programs, summer programs that are focused on science and on mathematics. Right now at my institution, we have more young men below 12th grade on our campus than we do of college students in summer school. That's because we have those summer programs. Students come to those programs because there is an identification that goes along with participating in with them, that it is impressive and it means something when they go back to their own schools that they participated in our Soar Program and our Excel Program.

I believe that those kinds of enrichment programs need to be promoted more in our schools in the same way that our Upward Bound programs have been very, very successful over the last several years. So, that would be one of my suggestions.

Ms. RATTERAY. I have a suggestion as well. We, at the Institute, did a very successful course for teachers of mathematics to upgrade some of their skills about two years ago. We called it Math in Motion. One of the important things that came out of that course is that mathematical concepts are involved in understanding sports. With many of our young males involved so heavily in sports, it would be an excellent opportunity to teach mathematical concepts. We've done it with teachers, giving them the understanding, and they took it back to their schools with amazing success.

Dr. NOBLES. I think that this entire country has to be willing to tell the truth, particularly in the imaging of the black man in that young black people don't have a relationship, and if you will a personal relationship, to that kind of scholarship that is found in mathematics, science and astronomy. But if the truth were told, we would all learn, as we learn everything else, that astronomy and mathematics and medicine and philosophy were black African inventions, that we created mathematics. Why would we be alien to mathematics. That's an important lesson for white, black, all American citizens to know.

I think that we also need to begin to market those areas of interest for the black community, just as after World War I when we decided there was a gap in our science. We were able to recruit, steal, whatever, science from other countries because we wanted that. If this country wants black scientists, it will do set asides, it will do special programs, it will do all the things that it needs to do, just as it wanted physicists at one time when it decided the space age was an important venture.

Finally, I think that we need to mention marketing black success in those areas. It was absolutely a moral tragedy in the United States that black children learned about Lt. Col. Ronald McNair when he blew up. They didn't know that that black man mastered physics and the saxophone at the same time. Those are the kinds of things that we need to begin teaching our children so that they will see that as an open opportunity for themselves.

Mr. HAYES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I can say that all of you have come to the Hill at a very important time. This week we're going to be authorizing spending an awful lot of money if they go in the direction of education. I don't want to be political, but I'm really concerned about talking about this million or half a million dollars for B-52 bombers.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Holloway?

Mr. HOLLOWAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me say, first of all, that we welcome our fellow Louisianian. It's good to hear good things about our state as much as we hear bad things about it. We appreciate you being here.

I want to ask a question. There wasn't a whole lot of testimony—and I apologize for being late and hope I didn't miss any that I should have. But there wasn't a lot of testimony on rural youth. It sounded like most of the testimony here was geared toward urban youth, the problems of urban societies.

I just want to ask a question. I guess I'll ask this of Dr. Sum, if he would—hasn't there been a difference in marital status between rural and urban blacks, regardless of income?

Dr. SUM. Traditionally there has been and it has typically been the case for other racial groups as well—I believe one of the reasons for that is the underlying comparison that one takes into consideration in deciding what an adequate standard of living is. What an adequate standard of living in a rural area is may be viewed quite differently from what an adequate standard of living is in the central city. So, comparisons of relative incomes and earnings, in fact, do likely contribute part of the difference.

I will say this, even though it wasn't mentioned explicitly in my testimony, that many of the same problems that have affected central city youth with respect to their earnings over the last 13 years have also afflicted youth living in the small urban and rural areas of the country. So, the problems of earnings decline are clearly not unique to young men in the central cities, but have, in many respects, also been devastating to those young men living in the smaller urban and rural areas of the country.

Mr. HOLLOWAY. I mean I'm astounded by the rates here, the unmarried fathers and mothers. I realize there's a tremendous problem in our whole country. The lack of strong families is one of our biggest problems, if not the problem in our country. But it's astronomical to look at the figures here of children for unmarried men and women in the black community. I guess it's bad enough in all communities, but it's sobering to look at.

I have a question, if I could, for Dr. Ratteray, if she would.

Is the strength of the commitment and the choice important to families revealed by the financial strains that many of the families endure to send their children to independent schools? How do families that make $30,000 and have four or five members in the family do this? How do they send them to the independent schools and what is your opinion on it?

Ms. RATTERAY. Yes. I've personally visited over 60 of the schools that we have studied. And we've surveyed over 400 families and had in-depth interviews with about 45 of those families.

Most of the families say they rearrange their priorities. They will work two and three jobs. The most startling fact is that grandmothers help, aunts help, uncles help. We found an amazing array of extended families chipping in, if it means what they call "saving the child in the early years."

The other thing is that the schools have an amazing resiliency because they can attract families from different economic levels. It

seems as though there is an almost unspoken contract, that families who can pay sometimes they will pay more. Families who cannot pay will either work at the school or contribute in other ways, such as providing in-kind services, either through transportation or through janitorial help. What we find here is the resourcefulness of people who, with very few resources, make things happen for their children.

This particular impulse, this drive, this motivation, seemed also to help the children understand that they are there for a purpose. Once again, they rely on the family structure.

Mr. HOLLOWAY. So you basically are saying that it's a matter of putting the children first in your life or if you put them out of your life?

Ms. RATTERAY. Yes. It's the priorities. That's right. This is what they've set and this is what they will do to reach that goal.

Mr. HOLLOWAY. I have other questions, but I know you're ready——

Chairman MILLER. We're going to recess here for a couple of minutes to run over and vote and we'll be right back and then we'll continue with the questions.

At this point, I also would like to include in the record the opening statement by Congressman Hayes.

[Prepared statement of Congressman Charles Hayes follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES HAYES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Chairman, I am very happy to be here today in order to address the very serious barriers that severely cripple a viable part of our population—black men. I am pleased that our social climate and cultural awareness in this country has at last made it possible that a discussion like this can exist. I can remember a time when it was a popular, and indeed, a convincing attitutde that blacks were naturally and biologically unintelligent, uncivilized, and inhuman. I would like to think that this hearing is a signal to black men and black women too, that these old, fictitious stereotypes are finally recognized to be false and unfounded. But, most importantly, I want to think that we are here today to better understand the complexities of the black male experience in America today. So, again, thank you.

[Whereupon, at 11:02 a.m., the select committee recessed until 11:17 a.m.]

Chairman MILLER. The select committee will reconvene. The witnesses can take their seats again at the table.

My apologies for the way we run this railroad around here, but I think we have about 15 minutes here. We're considering the Dellums amendment. We have about 15 minutes until the next vote.

At this point, I'd like to recognize Congressman Flake.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, let me commend you for the quality of those who have come as witnesses today. I think that those of us who share, as a part of these urban communities in particular, an African American ethnicity in particular would commend you for having chosen a topic that is of utmost importance. It is a critical time in the life and history of African American people to try to make definitions about what is going to happen to black men.

And so I would ask first of all for unanimous consent to have my remarks put into the record.

Chairman MILLER. Without objection.

Mr. FLAKE. And then, I'd like to ask just a couple of questions. First of all, Dr. Nobles, I have read with some interest and hear your testimony as you talk about HAWK and the potential that is represented in the program that you have. Certainly, I'd like to commend you for it. What has been your general response in terms of presenting this program, I suppose, on some national forums like this? What types of responses, first of all, did you get from within the African American community? And what type of responses did you get from the larger community where frequently when someone is presenting an idea as unique and different as yours is, the larger media seems to suggest that it is toned with a kind of racism rather than a reality of what the real facts are? I think you've done the research, so the facts are very clear. So if you can, kind of expand on that.

Dr. NOBLES. Yes. I think that the HAWK project was developed in an attempt to respond to the problems that plague our community, but it was developed out of the philosophy that you really don't prevent problems, you promote health. And in that context, we attempted to look at the fact that the one ingredient that is absolutely missing in almost all the experiments for helping the black community is the respecting of our culture, and not just our culture as up from slavery, meaning we're here in the United States, but our culture from the beginning of time and what is now being called an Afrocentric cultural orientation or Afrocentric practice.

And so when we begin to talk about this program as one example of that Afrocentric strategy in the African American community, it is clear the overwhelming recognition is that this is us, this is absolutely correct, these are the kinds of things that characterize grandma's hands back in the old days kind of response.

In the wider community, however, there is generally a reaction almost of disbelief. And it is ingrained in the point of my commentary about the philosophy of racism, that the philosophy of racism almost presupposes that anything that is black and authentically black has to be negative, has to be inferior, has to be halfstepping, has to be incompetent. But when you come with a program that is high quality, you come with a program that is built upon the historical excellence of the black community, then there is some question about whether that is really in fact true.

So you have to do some extraordinary educating about the truth of the African experience as it relates to humanity, and then as this program captures it. What that does in a real practical sense is that when you try to garner support for this program, rather than look at the integrity of the program and the consistency of the program within the black community, people want to debate whether or not this stuff that's black is really black and they get off the target. So that's what we've been confronted with is the extraordinary education.

Mr. FLAKE. Does that kind of confrontation find support in movies like Do the Right Thing, for those who want that to be an image? What has been your reaction to HAWK versus what is projected, say, in a movie like that? It's in the marketplace and there are, in my opinion at least, some reinforced stereotypes, counter-

balanced it seems—juxtaposed in some way—to some of what you propose here.

Dr. NOBLES. I wouldn't use the example of that particular movie or any instances to make a case. I think that once you do that, you make the example the reality.

But the fact of the matter is that all creative acts in this society are filtered through our perceptions about who people are, what their valuation is. So, even "the good people," who want to do something and want to use their skills as an artist, who sit down to write scripts and to develop drama relative to the black community, come out of it from a psychological position. That psychological position is as I've described it in terms of the metaphors of darkness and light and good and evil and black and white.

So, once they come out of that, they automatically find an over abundance of caricatures of the black man as the pimp, the hustler, the negative image and then the exception being the physicist, the astronaut, the Congressman. Those become the exceptions because you have to sort of do that as an extraordinary attempt. But our "normal," but it is abnormal, normal mentality in a racist society is to see blackness as the indicator of negativity. Consequently, what we do in our normal, every day stride of life reinforces that. That's the problem.

So, a creative genius like Spike Lee, who sits down to write some things, will have some good stuff in it, but he'll also have a lot of stuff that comes out of that philosophy of racism because he's embedded with it. Those teachers that Doctor Garibaldi talks about in his report, 65 percent black teachers, they come with the same indoctrination that we all are suffering from because we haven't purged our mentality. It is a psychological problem. We haven't purged our mentalities of racism, even though we've got law, we've got legislation, we've got economic questions. But it's the mentality that people bring to it, as they see you as a black man versus you as a white man. It's a different kind of response.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you. You've given me some meat for my sermon for Sunday.

Chairman MILLER. He's plagiarizing right here in front of your eyes.

Mr. FLAKE. Dr. Sullivan, just a quick question. I only have about another minute.

One of the concerns that I have is you talk about the factors that differentiate between teenage young blacks, the things that they do in that stage of their life versus what whites do, the fact that in the white community there is at least some support system by virtue of parents and other relatives owning businesses, giving them opportunities to work. Then you talk about local level social control. That's two factors.

Now, I wonder if in your studies there might have been—did you find that there was also a third factor? I'm just wondering if it might be missing here. That is for those petty level crimes that you mentioned that occur by those teenagers at the same stage, is there a differential in severity of punishment? Do, for instance, the police makeup in communities like New York predominantly white police arresting black youth, it seems at a disproportionate

number? What happens in that differential as it relates to those two different communities?

Dr. SULLIVAN. It's a very complex set of relationships. What we found in the white community is that there's a close relationship between the local people and the police. In fact, a lot of them are police officers. A lot of police officers live in the neighborhood. It has some very complex effects on the way local youths are dealt with. On the one hand, people call the police quickly, so young men are apprehended quickly which, depending on how they're treated, is in many cases beneficial to them. People in that neighborhood don't call 911. They call their uncle at the precinct when they want something dealt with.

But by the same token, the people whose children get arrested, also call their uncle or whoever, so that it doesn't progress through the system very far. In many ways in the treatment of juveniles, that's what we want. We want them not to think that they can get away with it. But by the same token, we don't want them incarcerated if there's another way to deal with them and that's a lot of times what happens.

Whereas in the minority communities, people are estranged from the police, so they don't get protection for themselves and they also, once their children become involved in the system, are very much at a loss. They don't have the resources to give them effective representation.

Mr. FLAKE. So, the likelihood of incarceration becomes greater?

Dr. SULLIVAN. That's right.

Mr. FLAKE. And once they get that record and once they are back out, the possibility——

Dr. SULLIVAN. Not only that record, sir, but the effect of incarceration itself. It's a school for crime.

Mr. FLAKE. OK. So, the possibility then of them being able to impact significantly and positively on the whole economic variables becomes that much more difficult now because they can't get a job because they have a record. Am I correct?

Dr. SULLIVAN. Right. So, that estrangement between the local community and the criminal justice system has deleterious effects both on public safety and on the development of the young people.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Owens?

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate you on having hearings on this very important subject. We have recognized the problems for a long time but have been slow in gearing up to really doing anything significant about them and we must begin to try to find some solutions.

The Congressional Black Caucus Weekend, my Higher Education Brain trust will be focusing on the survival of the black male, roadblocks to higher education and problems on the way to higher education. Of course, the bulk of black males are not in college and the great majority haven't even graduated from high school. Their problems in terms of employment are, I think, at the heart of the matter.

I didn't hear everybody make presentations, but would you all agree that despite the fact that this is a complex problem and

there are many facets to it, nobody wants to oversimplify it, but in terms of public policy and the role of government, that the key feature in beginning to put a solution to place is the employment component, the employment and the role model component? But first of all employment.

Public policy, Federal and other levels, should seek to find ways to give jobs, to get jobs to these young people. I'm told by some that that's no longer a solution because they don't want jobs. They look at the drug industry and they see how the entrepreneurs in the drug industry make out. They want to be entrepreneurs now. They thumb their nose at a real job. But I don't think that's true.

I think if you give the choice to the youngsters out there, most of them have a choice between zero and going into the drug industry. They don't have the choice of a part-time job while they're in high school or some kind of decent job if they're out of school, even after they graduate and don't go on to college.

So, employment becomes the key to the solution, the key component. There are other factors there also.

And also the question of male role models, male counselors, males to relate to. I think the two interrelate. A lot of jobs could be provided to males to help relate to other males. There's a whole set of jobs that we discovered at a community action program years ago which many leaders, black and white, thumbed their noses at and said it did no good, but they supplied jobs at many levels, recreation assistance counselors. A lot of people who didn't have credentials were given some status and they were in a position where they helped younger people. It had, in my opinion, a very beneficial effect on the community. Now that it's gone, we see what a great gap is there.

But my question to all the panel is, can we agree, all of us, that the first step for public policy, the first duty of public policy is to fill this gap, provide jobs for young people and that's dual?

Mr. LEWIS. Can I respond, sir, by saying that—I say yes, but your second comment concerning the male role models is essential along with the employment.

I sat in on a panel that was chaired by the head of the Department of Employment, Washington, DC. Her comments were that it isn't just jobs. She basically stated that she had more jobs than she had people to fill. Her concern was that there were individuals who did not want to work. There were jobs available to them, but their mind set had been impacted by the street.

We must come to grips, sir, with the fact that there is a tremendous need for competent role models who can influence these young minds and turn them around whereby they develop a healthy work ethic, because you're very, very right. There are those who are out there who are preying on their minds and who are stating very clearly by their actions that you can make a quick $500, $2,000 if you become a lookout for me. You can get the gold chains, you can get the long car without going through the long process of starting with minimum wage and working your way on up.

We're dealing with a work ethic situation as well as the availability of jobs. So, I'd say yes, but. There is a need for a competent

role model and there is a need for individuals who will begin to speak into their lives on an ongoing basis to address values.

Mr. OWENS. Yes, I agree. I've heard of these situations in the abstract. But people say, "We have jobs available and nobody will take them." I've never concretely seen such a situation. Now, this is from a New York City point of view, from Brooklyn. I've never seen a situation where jobs were available and the kids wouldn't take them.

Mr. LEWIS. Well, actually, just recently that was told to me out of Washington, DC, Department of Employment.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Sullivan, did you want to comment?

Dr. SULLIVAN. Yes, I did. I think you raise an important issue. I think there's a stereotype that is frequently reinforced in the media that these young men don't want to work because they're making so much money on the street. I think that's a very mistaken and deleterious notion. Here are a few sensationalized cases of people making a lot of money, and certainly they exist, but crime is a job day in and day out. It's a lousy job and people leave it as they get older, as we've documented.

I think what happens in terms of lack of response to job programs, it's not just the availability of any employment, it's the kind of employment. A lot of these jobs, program jobs as well as private industry jobs that are available to young people, don't teach them anything. I think the kinds of employment opportunities which offer some kind of avenue for advancement are the ones that really motivate these young people, including a lot of them who are already involved in the street and who have already begun to realize that that's not such a wonderful way to get ahead either.

So, it's not just any kind of jobs. In terms of our public employment efforts, I think we need to make a real effort to make sure that these are situations that teach people things and give them ways to move forward.

Mr. OWENS. Dr. Sum, would you care to comment?

Dr. SUM. I would completely agree with your first statement that employment is clearly necessary for a solution to this problem. Whether it's sufficient, I think it has to go one step forward, which is what's the basic ability of workers to achieve the earnings levels that can, in fact, sustain families and children.

I would say it's employment and it's role model support and it's also the desire and willingness of the industry and government to support further on-the-job training in apprenticeship programs and make it possible for people, while working, to get access to the education and training that make them more productive, which is needed in the long run for us to pay people higher wages. That, I think, is a very substantial missing element, that in many of the retail trade and private services, the number of apprenticeship slots that we have, you and I could basically count on our hands in American society. It's a major shortcoming. The bulk of those trained in those sectors are those that already possess college degrees.

So, if you have a lot of schooling, you get more training and you get further ahead. If you don't have postsecondary education, you don't get much training and you don't get ahead. It's that system that I think has basically got to be trained. Employment is neces-

sary but not sufficient. Employment, training and the way we view young people as people that could fulfill many more adult responsible roles than we give them in the labor markets of today.

All those today, I think, sir, are the answer to this present question.

Mr. OWENS. You would agree with my contention that the President is hurting American families a great deal by fighting against an increase in the minimum wage then? $3.35 an hour does not give them an adequate income level to support a family.

Dr. SUM. It does not. I would also say that $4.35 is clearly better but is not also sufficient. I always look back when I was 18 years old and took my first job at U.S. Steel after leaving high school in Gary, IN. My wage was $3.35 in 1964. So, if we want to put it into perspective, what a high school graduate at the age of 18 was able to earn in 1964 is where our Federal minimum wage is today. It's that kind of perspective that I think is basically missing.

The average young man in 1973 that I was talking about earlier was earning the equivalent of about $10 per hour in 1987 dollars. So, $4.15 would take him 40 percent of the way up there. So, I am clearly in favor of an increase in the minimum wage, but I would like to say that multiples of the minimum wage are what's needed to support families in America today.

Dr. GARIBALDI. Congressman, I want to support the fact that employment is certainly very important. But as I mentioned, 40 percent of all blacks, 16- to 19-year-olds, were unemployed in 1986 and almost one-fourth of all black men between the ages of 20 and 24 were also unemployed. I say that to say that it has to be employment and education. Because even as we look at those individuals who were making the $5,700 a year in 1984 that Dr. Sum talked about, 43 percent of those were dropouts. The fact of the matter is that education is strongly correlated with employment potential.

Also, when we're talking about higher education and those postsecondary opportunities, in 1976 black enrollment in higher education peaked. But between 1976 and 1986, we had 20 percent more high school graduates who were black, but we actually declined tremendously in terms of those students who actually went on to 4-year institutions. Even in 1989, we are still at close to 1.1 million black students in college, which was essentially the same as in 1976.

So, there is a lot that we have to do, not just increase the high school graduation rates.

Mr. OWENS. I do agree. We've heard about the tremendous program that you have at Xavier. I think your president has been invited to appear on our panel during the Congressional Black Caucus Weekend panel on black male survival. We congratulate what you're doing.

Dr. GARIBALDI. But I also want to mention one other thing. When we're talking about our urban schools, the typical counselor has a case load of 500 to 600 students and that one person can't be a role model or serve all of those young people. So, there are lots of other things that we have to do in the schools to make that guidance much more available.

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Ms. RATTERAY. I'd like to also suggest that my testimony is complemented by three studies that we've done and I would like to submit them into the record.

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Research Notes on Education

No. 4 July 1989

The Final Blow!

African-American High School Students and Advanced Placement Examinations

Each year, African American high school students in Grades 11 and 12 sit for the Advanced Placement Examinations, a program sponsored jointly by the College Board and the Educational Testing Service. Each year, large numbers of them are not successful. Young people, battered since elementary school by an educational system that often stifles their achievement, once more have their hopes dashed because they are found to be not qualified.

The Advanced Placement Program is designed to encourage young people to begin college-level studies while they are still in high school.

Students may sit for any number of examinations in up to 27 subjects and may receive grades of 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5. If students receive grades 3, 4 or 5, they are all considered to have "qualified" (at three levels of excellence), and the College Board will recommended that they be given advanced placement when they enter college.

Nationally, African Americans sit for a total of 13,844 examinations and 5,447 qualify for advanced placement (Table 1). This means that 61 percent of all African-American students are *systematically screened out* of the academic process at this level of achievement, while White students have a more than 64 percent success rate.

It is a tribute to the hope and motivation of African-American students near the end of their high school careers that, in spite of what happened to those who preceded them, many students feel they still should sit for the examinations.

It is an indictment of the way schools prepare African-American students for this challenge, subjecting them to the emotional and intellectual trauma that must be inevitable with what is in effect a 61 percent "failure" rate for the group.

Some States produce greater numbers of African-American AP candidates than others, while some have a greater percentage of candidates who qualify and some have students with a higher mean score than others. However, for the "top 15" States in each category, the three lists are not identical. In fact, only Maryland and Massachusetts appear on all three lists. In other words, States that have the highest *rates* of success in preparing students for Advanced Placement tests generally tend to be States in which African Americans are not concentrated in *large numbers*.

Some might interpret this as a victory for desegregated environments. On the other hand, since most African Americans are taught by White teachers, it may mean instead that when confronted with large numbers of African

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Table 1

African Americans and A. P. Examinations in the "Top 15" States, 1988

A: STATES - BY NUMBER QUALIFIED

STATE	AFRICAN AMERICANS #Exams	#Qualf	%Qualf	Mean
New York	1,819	879	48	2.6
California	1,476	647	44	2.5
Florida	1,580	446	28	2.0
Illinois	796	326	41	2.3
Maryland	573	298	52	2.7
Virginia	596	292	49	2.5
South Carolina	1,011	277	27	2.0
Georgia	697	229	33	2.2
Ohio	519	213	41	2.3
North Carolina	395	176	45	2.4
New Jersey	355	164	46	2.5
Texas	432	162	38	2.3
Tennessee	561	152	27	2.0
Massachusetts	236	141	59	3.0
Pennsylvania	255	130	51	2.6
TOP 15 TOTAL	11,305	4,532	40	
US TOT - AfrAmer	13,644	5,447	39	
PERCENT OF TOTAL	82	83		

B: STATES - BY PERCENT QUALIFIED

STATE	AFRICAN AMERICANS #Exams	#Qualf	%Qualf	Mean
North Dakota	1	1	100	5.0
Vermont	1	1	100	5.0
Hawaii	11	9	82	3.4
New Hampshire	15	11	73	3.1
Alaska	15	10	67	3.0
Nebraska	14	9	64	2.9
Oregon	16	10	63	2.8
Kansas	41	25	61	2.8
Washington	52	31	60	2.7
Massachusetts	236	141	59	3.0
Maine	9	5	56	2.8
Minnesota	60	33	55	2.8
Maryland	573	298	52	2.7
Pennsylvania	255	130	51	2.6
Connecticut	140	70	50	2.6
TOP 15 TOTAL	1,441	784	54	
US TOT - AfrAmer	13,644	5,447	39	
PERCENT OF TOTAL	10	14		

C: STATES - BY MEAN

STATE	AFRICAN AMERICANS #Exams	#Qualf	%Qualf	Mean
Vermont	1	1	100	5.0
Hawaii	11	9	82	3.4
New Hampshire	15	11	73	3.1
North Dakota	1	1	100	3.0
Alaska	15	10	67	3.0
Massachusetts	236	141	59	3.0
Nebraska	14	9	64	2.9
Oregon	16	10	63	2.8
Minnesota	60	33	55	2.8
Maine	9	5	56	2.8
Kansas	41	25	61	2.8
Washington	52	31	60	2.7
Maryland	573	298	52	2.7
New Mexico	25	12	48	2.6
Connecticut	140	70	50	2.6
TOP 15 TOTAL	1,211	666	55	
US TOT - AfrAmer	13,644	5,447	39	
PERCENT OF TOTAL	9	12		

Source: Computations made by the Institute for Independent Education from The College Board data for the Advanced Placement Program, 1988.

Americans. White teachers are completely unable to deal with them on an intellectual level. A low may be manageable, but White insecurities across a cultural chasm are often insurmountable.

The overall group performance is substantiated, with slight variations, in the four subjects that are most popular for African Americans, as well as for the national sample: English literature and composition, American history, mathematics/calculus AB and biology (Table 2A).

Except in English literature, African-American males as a group appear to be more likely than females to qualify for advanced placement (Table 2B). Of 1,083 male candidates who entered the fray in American history, 510 or 47 percent survived, compared to 36 percent for females. Although the percentages of all males who qualified tend to be higher than the percentages of all females, there are in fact greater numbers of female candidates (2,620 females taking English literature, compared to 1,149 males).

When various ethnic groups are compared, African-American males and females are among the least successful on all the tests (Table 3A).

It also appears that African American students preparing for Advanced Placement examinations suffer more at the hands of public schools than do other groups (Table 3B). Comparing the percentage who are successful in public schools with the percentage successful in private schools, most ethnic groups have only a 4 to 10 point spread, but African Americans in public schools are 26 points worse off than those in private schools.

Recommendations

The data indicate that educators serving African-American high school students have a very specific responsibility to address student achievement in preparation for these tests.

In light of other findings by the Institute that most African Americans attend schools that are below national norms (Institute Report No. 3),

Table 2

African-American Performance on A. P. Exams, 1988

A: SUMMARY OF FOUR SUBJECTS

	AfrAmer	US Total
ENG. LIT. & COMP:		
Number of Exams Taken	3,769	91,899
Number Qualified	1,436	63,328
Percent Qualified	38	69
Mean Score	2.27	3.07
AMERICAN HISTORY:		
Number of Exams Taken	2,808	82,283
Number Qualified	1,134	53,990
Percent Qualified	40	66
Mean Score	2.10	3.07
MATH/CALCULUS AB:		
Number of Exams Taken	1,672	53,391
Number Qualified	550	36,358
Percent Qualified	33	68
Mean Score	1.97	3.10
BIOLOGY:		
Number of Exams Taken	1,165	30,612
Number Qualified	392	19,511
Percent Qualified	34	64
Mean Score	1.54	3.05

B: MALES v. FEMALES ON SIX SUBJECTS

	MALES		
Subjects	Number Exams	Number Qualif.	Percent Qualif.
English Literature	1,149	417	36
American History	1,083	510	47
Math/Calculus AB	742	337	45
Biology	396	153	39
English Language	269	99	37
European History	263	115	44

	FEMALES		
Subjects	Number Exams	Number Qualif.	Percent Qualif.
English Literature	2,620	1,019	39
American History	1,725	624	36
Math/Calculus AB	930	313	34
Biology	770	229	30
English Language	522	179	34
European History	307	117	38

Source: Computations made by the Institute for Independent Education from The College Board data for the Advanced Placement Program, 1988.

Table 3

Ethnic Group Performance on A. P. Exams, 1988

A: MALES v. FEMALES AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethnic Groups	MALES # Exams	MALES # Qualif.	MALES % Qualif.	FEMALES # Exams	FEMALES # Qualif.	FEMALES % Qualif.
African American	5,411	2,316	43	6,433	3,131	37
Chicano/Mexican American	3,108	1,846	59	3,893	2,289	59
American Indian	583	331	60	519	270	52
Puerto Rican	1,051	638	61	1,217	796	65
Other Hispanic American	4,192	2,903	69	4,758	3,338	71
Other	2,744	1,690	59	2,189	1,427	65
White	162,233	113,617	70	148,028	96,765	65
Asian	24,934	18,005	72	19,374	13,135	68
No Response	14,128	10,238	72	12,356	8,444	68

B: ETHNIC GROUPS IN PUBLIC v. PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Ethnic Groups	PUBLIC SCHOOLS # Exams	PUBLIC SCHOOLS # Qualif.	PUBLIC SCHOOLS % Qualif.	PRIVATE SCHOOLS # Exams	PRIVATE SCHOOLS # Qualif.	PRIVATE SCHOOLS % Qualif.
American Indian	882	486	55	190	116	61
African American	11,730	4,150	35	2,114	1,297	61
Chicano/Mexican American	5,490	3,120	57	1,511	1,014	67
Asian American	35,908	25,008	70	8,400	6,132	73
Puerto Rican	1,418	833	59	850	589	69
Other Hispanic	8,286	4,251	68	2,544	1,950	74
White	240,439	161,174	67	69,822	49,408	71
Other	3,447	2,256	65	1,486	1,061	71
No Response	19,155	13,155	69	7,329	5,527	75
US TOTAL	324,756	214,472	66	94,346	67,094	71

(Source: Computations made by the Institute for Independent Education from The College Board data for the Advanced Placement Program, 1988.)

any changes that are instituted also must reverberate down to the elementary school level. Furthermore, successfully addressing issues that affect African Americans will have a beneficial impact on Chicano, Puerto Rican and other Hispanic Americans as well.

There is a need for further research to develop both academic and ethnographic profiles of successful students and their teachers and to compare them to profiles of unsuccessful students and their teachers.

The rate at which African-American students feel driven to take tests for which they are ill prepared also is a matter of great concern. It may be too racially and politically explosive for White teachers to suggest to some of the African-American candidates that they are not yet ready to take these tests, if indeed the teachers themselves have any way of knowing. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the test publishers and school districts in which these students are enrolled to begin a serious reevaluation of curriculum, materials, teaching methodology and student learning habits to alleviate this tragedy that currently is being inflicted upon African-American students.

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Research Notes
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No. 1 July 1989

What's in a Norm?

How African Americans Score on Achievement Tests

Most African Americans in urban areas are trapped in schools that are below the national norms for reading, mathematics or both. These young people are not only shut off from written information about their own cultural heritage, but they also are least likely to learn much about others. They will become adults who know very little unless they receive it secondhand: filtered, summarized and perhaps tainted with all the biases or political and social agendas of those who are passing on the information. They will be victims of an information flow controlled by others.

Table 1 shows that in some areas of the U.S., such as Baltimore, Rochester and Prince George's County (a large suburb of Washington, D.C.), most African Americans are in schools that are above norm in both reading and mathematics. In other areas, an extremely large percentage of the African American population attends below-norm schools. This is true of Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, New Orleans and others.

In some instances, such as in Detroit and Indianapolis, public schools are equally poor for both African Americans and Whites. For example, 83 of the 157 schools in Detroit (53 percent) are below the norm on two indicators. On the whole, they are 19 points below the norm of 50 in reading and 30 points below in mathematics. Combining schools below the norm on two indicators and those below on one indicator, 80 percent of all African-American students, 63 percent of Hispanics and 72 percent of Whites are subjected to these types of learning environments.

The apparent equality of impact on each group in these schools is misleading. The majority of African-Americans in the United States is concentrated in major urban areas like Detroit, but this is true for only a small percentage of the overall White population. Therefore, Whites are less adversely affected by these types of schools. It is easy to see why some would call public schools academically genocidal to African Americans.

The percentages for each racial/ethnic group are informative by themselves, but they are only part of the picture. The whole numbers behind them are more dramatic, and Table 2 shows the real scope of the tragedy: 74 percent of all African American elementary school students in the eight urban areas studied are in schools that are below norm on reading, mathematics or both.

The sample in Table 3 for Detroit shows how the below/above norm data for each of the other districts were derived for this report.

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Table 1

Elementary Schools Below and Above National Norms

1988-1989

	Number of Schools	Points Below(-) & Above(+) Norm		Percent			
		READ	MATH	AfAm	Hisp	White	Other
A: Districts Reporting Percentile Ranks							
Baltimore, MD (CAT-C, 1977 Norms)							
Below norm on two indicators	7	-9	-4	6	1	1	1
Below norm on one indicator	29	-8	-8	29	29	15	29
Above norm on both indicators	84	11	20	65	72	84	70
Total	120			100	100	100	100
Prince George's County, MD (CAT-C, 1977)							
Below norm on two indicators	8	-12	-4	8		4	
Below norm on one indicator	20	-5	10	20		12	
Above norm on both indicators	85	12	23	72		84	
Total	113			100		100	
Detroit, MI (CAT-Form E, 1985)							
Below norm on two indicators	83	-19	-30	59	52	37	47
Below norm on one indicator	39	-11	-8	21	31	35	27
Above norm on both indicators	35	11	20	20	17	28	26
Total	157			100	100	100	100
Indianapolis, IN (CAT-E, 1985)							
Below norm on two indicators	35	-11	-12	52		51	
Below norm on one indicator	18	-5	-5	27		26	
Above norm on both indicators	15	10	14	21		23	
Total	68			100		100	
Rochester, NY (CAT-E, 1985)							
Below norm on two indicators	1	-16	-1	5	5	2	2
Below norm on one indicator	15	-7	16	53	59	31	57
Above norm on both indicators	18	13	29	42	36	67	41
Total	34			100	100	100	100
New Orleans, LA (CAT-F, 1985)							
Below norm on two indicators	59	-21	-20	84		22	
Below norm on one indicator	7	-6	-5	6		28	
Above norm on both indicators	12	14	15	10		50	
Total	78			100		100	
B: Districts Reporting Grade Equivalents							
Chicago, IL (ITBS-7, 1978)							
Below norm on two indicators	253	-9	-5	70	53	31	25
Below norm on one indicator	96	-4	-2	18	31	19	21
Above norm on both indicators	111	8	7	12	16	50	54
Total	460			100	100	100	100
Houston, TX (MAT-6, 1985)							
Below norm on two indicators	25	-11	-3	20	11	3	
Below norm on one indicator	88	-6	-7	55	64	29	
Above norm on both indicators	51	1	-2	25	25	68	
Total	164			100	100	100	

TEST NAMES: California Achievement Test, Metropolitan Achievement Test and the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills

(Source: Computations by Institute for Independent Education of test and enrollment data from each school district.)

Limitations

A few words of explanation and caution about interpreting the data are important to consider at this point.

First, norms do not represent the highest levels of excellence. Excellence is better defined in relationship to those who are nearest to the extreme above the norm. By definition, only 50 percent of any group can be above the norm, and only a small portion of that 50 percent can achieve excellence.

Second, the purpose of these tables is to show how each State stands in relation to the national norm it has chosen for itself.

The data also show the relative positions of the various school districts. However, precise measurement of those academic differences are not possible from these data. Because norms are different for each type of test, and even for different forms of the same test, it is improper to make comparisons directly. For example, we cannot say that 19 points below norm on reading in Detroit is two points better than 21 points below norm on reading in New Orleans. Nor can we directly compare 19 points below in reading and 30 points below in mathematics, even for the same students in the same school, because of differences in the way the two tests are constructed.

Furthermore, the older 1977 norms will make students appear to have much higher achievement levels than the newer 1985 norms. Much has changed in education during those intervening eight years, and new norms probably would place Baltimore and P.G. County in a less favorable position.

Third, the below/above norm data in Table 1 are derived from median (or mid-point) data for each school. This means that half the students in each school are above the median, while half are below. Baltimore is the only district in this table that reports the average for each school rather than the median. This is an acceptable method, as long as the extreme highs and extreme lows do not unduly distort the picture.

Fourth, Most of the data are for Grade 6, but some are for the next highest elementary grade for which data are available.

Fifth, most schools in Table 1 report data in median percentile ranks, for which the norm is always a score of 50.

Houston and Chicago report in median grade equivalents, the norm for which may differ depending on local conditions. Table 1 reflects all such necessary adjustments. Thus, at 25 schools in Houston, the median for students in reading is one year and one month below norm, while at 51 schools, the medians are one year above for reading and two months above for mathematics.

Sixth, the urban areas were not chosen randomly. They are located in States known to have significant populations of African Americans and which voluntarily provided data to the Institute. They were further selected for their geographic distribution, as well as for areas subject to court-ordered busing and those with no busing.

Table 2

Numbers of African Americans in Urban Schools Below and Above Norms

1988-1989

Urban Areas	Below on Two Indicators	Below on One Indicator	Above on Two Indicators	Total
Detroit	43,980	15,416	14,827	74,223
Houston	8,273	23,076	10,434	41,783
New Orleans	33,954	2,264	4,092	40,310
Rochester	443	5,066	4,052	9,561
PG County	2,868	5,765	24,759	34,412
Indianapolis	7,521	3,962	3,113	14,596
Chicago	124,095	31,159	21,255	176,509
Baltimore	2,969	14,234	32,230	49,433
Totals	224,223	101,962	114,762	440,947
Percent	51	23	26	100

Source: Computations by the Institute for Independent Education of test and enrollment data from each school district.

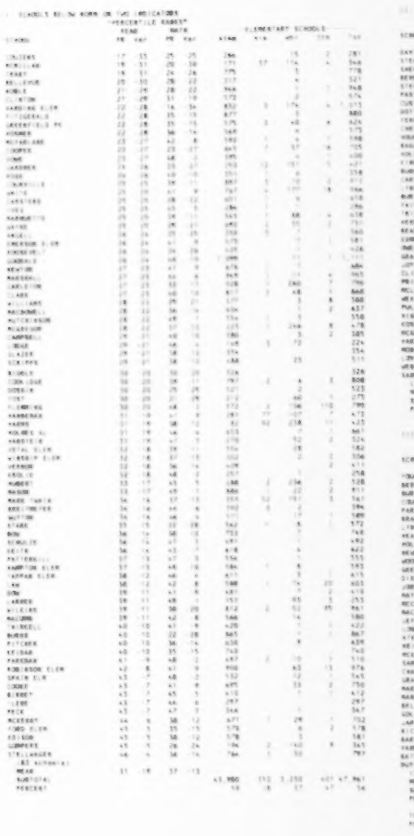
Related Findings and Recommendations

Questionable Norms. While percentile ranks are not directly comparable across tests, the detailed data on each urban area shows a consistent pattern in which reading scores appear to be significantly lower in relation to the norm for reading than mathematics scores are in relation to the norm for mathematics. This confirms two views about test norms that have been discussed widely in the media.

Table 3

Elementary Schools Below and Above Norm
Detroit, Michigan

(California Achievement Test, Form E, 1988, Grade 5, Norm = 50)



One is that contemporary instruction in mathematics concentrates on lower level skills such as computation, rather than higher-order thinking skills. The latter types of mathematical problems must, of necessity, require the ability to understand complex concepts in textbooks and sophisticated word problems in tests. If a student scores low on reading and high on mathematics, those mathematical problems obviously do not invoke higher-order skills.

It may be that African-American parents in some areas of the country are being led to believe that their children are doing well in mathematics because many individual schools seem to be "above norm." Parents may not be aware that if the reading scores are accurate indicators, then the mathematics scores have little meaning, and vice versa. Public elementary schools, therefore, are participating in a massive program of deception that directly affects African-American students and their families.

Another view is that standardized tests are misleading indicators of achievement because the accuracy of the norms is questionable. As an independent researcher, John Jacob Cannell points out in his study, "...no state scores below the publisher's 'national norm' at the elementary level on any of the six major nationally normed, commercially available tests." He continues, that these tests "...allow 90 percent of the school districts in the United States to be above average." Cannell points out that school districts are in fact worse off than reports show because of faulty norms.

If this is so, then many African-American students are completely off the bottom of the scale.

As a recent report by leading African-American scholars points out, "testing becomes a dangerous instrument of social oppression when test results are seen as revealing native abilities uninfluenced by environmental conditions." (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1989). They call for tests to "become more sophisticated and sensitive tools for measurement and diagnosis."

Cultural Context. The school, rather than individuals scattered across the district, may be the most important factor to monitor, because the school is the child's learning environment. The performance of the group within that environment can promote or retard individual achievement and motivation. For African-Americans, because of their unique African heritage, the group in some ways may be traditionally more important than the individual (Mudimbe, 1988; Mukenge, 1988).

An Invisible People. States often report statewide data, in which data from schools serving African Americans are made statistically invisible by data about the majority population. Districts also report how many individual students in a district are above norm, but since the top students in effect are gathered from all the schools and placed at the top of the scale, the impact at the local level is not seen. For example, it does not show how clusters of African Americans in their own neighborhoods are being affected. Very enlightened parents and the media really must probe to find out where each school stands.

African-American Models. In areas where there is no court-ordered busing, which causes large numbers of students to be transported across the city, African Americans still can look within their own communities for standards of excellence and effective teaching methodology.

The Institute for Independent Education found in its study of test scores in Washington, D.C., a predominantly African-American city, that schools could be sorted effectively by zip codes, which are more authentic boundaries for real communities than are zones created by school boards (Institute Report No. 1). Within each zip code, there are schools in which students perform well above the norm. The Institute suggests that teachers, principals and students in those schools could be models for schools that are below norm in those same neighborhoods.

Another report by the Institute also reinforces the notion that African Americans can look amongst themselves for models of high achievement in schools (Institute Report No. 4). In Chicago, there are high test scores in reading and mathematics at some magnet schools in which most of the students are African Americans and large numbers are from low-income families.

Reading Research. The reading scores in the eight urban areas encompassed by this study demonstrate the seriousness of the need for improved reading instruction. Whatever many public schools are doing to teach African-American students how to read clearly is not working, and their programs need to be revamped.

As a first step to correct this situation, there is a need for research to determine if reading as it is taught to African Americans in places like Prince

George's County, which has the greatest percentage of its population reading well above norm, is taught any differently than in places like New Orleans, which has the greatest percentage of its students reading well below norm.

Education researchers also need to determine if the academic and ethnographic profiles of successful students and their teachers are any different from profiles of unsuccessful students and their teachers.

Literacy Programs. Many urban areas are also focusing on adult literacy programs, all of which are needed to increase the self-esteem, educational levels and economic productivity of large numbers of Americans. They are also needed because parents who are literate tend to encourage their children to be literate. Yet, it is at least of equal, if not greater, importance to be concerned about illiteracy in our schools. We must stop our academic machinery from churning out an endless stream of graduates who are seriously deficient in reading skills, because they are undoing all the work accomplished by adult literacy programs.

African-American individuals, community organizations and churches concerned about adult literacy might well be inspired by the story of "moonlight schools" which were developed by illiterate mountain people in Kentucky in 1911 (Stewart, 1922). Their idea for quickly teaching people how to read and write soon spread across the country, supported by the needs of the Army during World War I. The first moonlight school for African Americans began at Camp Lee in Virginia, and others soon followed.

It has been proven time and again ever since then that people can be taught very quickly how to read. African-American ndependent neighborhood schools, located in most urban areas across the country, do it all the time. They teach some of the same children that public schools have discarded as uneducable, and teach them right along with very advanced children from the African-American community.

For African Americans it is now a matter of life and death that immediate steps be taken to improve the way in which children learn to read and to do mathematics, and those steps indeed may be quite different from popular strategies or fads that may be promoted from time to time for mainstream America.

It is also vital that African-American children develop the skills that will enable them to explore subtleties in written information on their own, without summarized intervention by others, and begin to shape their own future in the world.

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Research Notes on Education

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MAGNET SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO

Achievement at Risk If Policymakers Retreat

Magnet schools have become the darling of education policymakers across the country during the past two decades. After they were developed, they were conscripted to fight in the battle to eliminate the twin evils of low achievement and segregation in urban education. A 1983 study sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education shows that there are now over 1000 magnet schools in more than 130 of the largest urban school districts in the country (Blank, *et al.*, 1983).

Are magnet schools successful? Can they fulfill the promises of high achievement and desegregation in inner-city areas? Data from 35 full-site magnet schools in Chicago at the elementary and middle school levels show that they are successful, but not necessarily for the reasons many people believe. In addition, there are education reformers nationwide who are opposed to choice programs. By threatening the future of magnet schools, they may kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

In many urban areas, educators rely on magnet schools to strike a delicate balance between the need to create opportunities for equity in education and the need for parents to have greater choice among schools. Many school districts have voluntarily developed magnet schools, attracting Blacks and Whites by appealing to their mutual interest in learning environments that foster high achievement.

In spite of this, magnet schools are not completely market-driven alternatives to compulsory attendance within school boundaries. The location and capacity of these schools often is manipulated to meet court-ordered mandates for desegregation. They represent, instead, what is called "controlled choice."

Chicago magnet schools can be divided into four types according to the achievement of their students. At the bottom of the scale are magnet schools in which the median grade equivalents are below national norms for reading, for mathematics or both. In the majority of magnet schools, however, scores may be up to one year above norm or from one to two years above norm. There also are "super" magnets in which students perform two to three years above norm on both reading *and* mathematics.

The data in the table below indicate that some magnet schools are indeed successful, when success is measured by racially-mixed enrollment patterns and high test scores. On the other hand,

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Median Grade Equivalents, Enrollment and Budgets at Magnet Schools in Chicago

(Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, Grade 6, 1988, Norm = 6.7)

I. MEDIAN GRADE EQUIVALENTS BELOW NORM ON READING

SCHOOL	DIST	GRADE EQUIVALENTS READ GE	READ Var	MATH GE	MATH Var	ELEM & MIDDLE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT Afam	Hisp	White	Amin	Asian	Total	PERCT WHITE	STUD/ TCHR RATIO	PERCENT LOW INCOME
Dvorak Spec Acad	1	5.8	6	6.4	3	674	2	2	0	2	674	0	16	84.2
Jefferson Lang Acad	10	6.2	5	6.7	0	58	359	268	2	5	716	40	18	38.6
Jensen Spec Acad	6	6.6	4	7.1	4	677	3	1	0	3	684		15	53.5
Juvenile	5	6.3	4	6.8	1	581	5	136	0	1	723	19	17	93.4
Nightingale	5	6.4	1	6.8	1	438	0	332	1	2	840	24	14	43.8
Peterson	13	6.6	1	7.1	4	85	516	45	3	27	786	6	14	54.1
Metcalfe	6	6.5	1	7.0	3	634	112	95	1	5	1,237	8	22	43.1
MEAN		6.2	4	6.8	1						780	15	19	
SUBTOTAL						3,567	331	883	3	38	5,462			
PERCENT						65	22	16	3	4	37			

MEAN PER-PUPIL EXPENDITURE = $4,830

II. GRADE EQUIVALENTS 0 TO 1 YEAR ABOVE NORM

SCHOOL	DIST	GRADE EQUIVALENTS READ GE	READ Var	MATH GE	MATH Var	ELEM & MIDDLE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT Afam	Hisp	White	Amin	Asian	Total	PERCT WHITE	STUD/ TCHR RATIO	PERCENT LOW INCOME
Jahn	9	6.7	0	6.7	0	47	210	116	1	7	481	24	14	47.3
Mayfield	5	6.7	0	7.0	2	46	980	172	1	2	1,113	15	20	44.2
Home School Acad	2	6.7	0	7.0	3	66	192	216	7	308	734	30	20	30.4
Inter American	3	6.6	0	7.0	3	53	388	154	6	10	616	25	19	32.2
Jamie School Acad	3	7.0	4	7.3	5	28	25	198	10	3	274	80	16	26.4
Darwin	2	7.0	4	7.3	5	537	510	436	5	207	1,697	26	16	36.0
Burroughs School Acad	20	7.0	3	7.3	4	760	18	4	1	1	812	3	16	42.8
Turner-Drew Lang Acad	6	7.0	3	7.3	4	570	22	90	2	5	693	15	18	24.3
Thorp School Acad	2	7.0	4	7.3	10	331	14	220	1	57	623	32	16	33.5
Jackson Lang Acad	9	7.0	3	7.3	5	51	165	162	3	4	485	33	16	48.8
Jungleland School Acad	11	7.0	4	7.3	5	238	230	244	8	8	728	33	16	39.6
Pershing	11	7.0	10	7.3	10	227	3	56	0	0	293	20	17	48.0
Black & Stanton	13	7.1	10	7.3	10	335	19	43	1	8	427	8	16	39.7
MEAN		7.0	5	7.4	7						669	23	18	
SUBTOTAL						3,695	2,776	1,890	53	521	6,884			
PERCENT						33	51	43	50	46	43			

MEAN PER-PUPIL EXPENDITURE = $4,185

III. GRADE EQUIVALENTS 1 TO 2 YEARS ABOVE NORM

SCHOOL	DIST	GRADE EQUIVALENTS READ GE	READ Var	MATH GE	MATH Var	ELEM & MIDDLE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT Afam	Hisp	White	Amin	Asian	Total	PERCT WHITE	STUD/ TCHR RATIO	PERCENT LOW INCOME
Franklin	3	7.8	11	7.7	13	148	10	159	2	69	388	38	15	42.3
Hamilton	3	7.8	11	7.8	8	264	139	169	5	93	648	33	16	4.6
Lewis Lang Acad	1	7.8	11	7.8	9	167	87	173	10	11	478	38	18	34.7
Murphy Lang Acad	14	7.8	11	7.8	13	252	7	73	3	4	348	21	20	51.8
Shoesmith	11	8.0	13	7.8	11	183	84	173	3	68	516	33	17	45.5
Stockton	13	8.1	14	8.1	14	668	28	238	5	15	1,179	20	21	48.4
Hawthorne School Acad	3	8.1	14	8.2	14	76	208	175	3	56	517	33	16	33.8
Higginbotham	18	8.2	15	7.8	11	239	2	57	0	9	307	23	16	23.8
McCutcheon Classical	19	8.5	18	8.2	15	118	1	39	0	1	160	24	12	38.4
MEAN		8.0	13	7.8	11						501	27	17	
SUBTOTAL						2,434	547	1,257	31	356	4,508			
PERCENT						24	12	27	28	28	22			

MEAN PER-PUPIL EXPENDITURE = $4,408

IV. GRADE EQUIVALENTS 2 TO 3 YEARS ABOVE NORM

SCHOOL	DIST	GRADE EQUIVALENTS READ GE	READ Var	MATH GE	MATH Var	ELEM & MIDDLE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT Afam	Hisp	White	Amin	Asian	Total	PERCT WHITE	STUD/ TCHR RATIO	PERCENT LOW INCOME
Jenner Classical	20	8.8	21	8.8	22	45	22	88	2	73	237	40	11	37.1
Lavizzo Lang Acad	7	8.8	21	8.8	18	161	124	161	11	52	509	33	18	34.2
Poe Classical	20	9.0	23	9.0	23	146	5	26	0	3	180	15	11	37.8
Edison Classical	1	8.9	23	8.8	23	37	37	96	4	56	230	36	11	40.7
Skinner Classical	4	8.9	27	9.0	23	219	51	129	2	6	417	27	15	46.7
MEAN		8.7	24	8.8	21						328	32	14	
SUBTOTAL						548	149	526	9	95	841			
PERCENT						7	5	11	8	10	8			

MEAN PER-PUPIL EXPENDITURE = $5,157

TOTAL						8,834	4,576	4,808	95	1,064	20,275			
PERCENT						100	100	100	100	100	100			
All Elementary & Middle School Students						75,516	76,164	37,480	930	1,760	267,476			
Magnet as Percent of All						6	6	12	10	6	7			

(Source: Computed by the Institute for Independent Education from data supplied by the Chicago Public Schools.)

some of the following popular myths do not withstand close scrutiny, at least not in Chicago:

School Size. *Magnet schools are not successful because they are smaller than non-magnet schools.*

It is true that some magnet schools with high levels of student achievement have an average enrollment of 328 each, while magnets in which there is low achievement average 780 students. Nevertheless, one group of 13 high-performing magnets has an average of 666 students, which is only 23 fewer students than at the average non-magnet school in the city.

Class Size. *Smaller class sizes are not necessarily linked to high performance on standardized tests.*

Among magnet schools, as test scores rise, student-teacher ratios fall from 19 students per teacher to 14. On the other hand, even though non-magnet schools have an average of 19, many of them have as few as 9, and still there is low performance. Another reason why reducing class sizes may not be the answer is that 35 percent of all Chicago students already are in schools where class sizes are equal to or smaller than those at the better magnets (18:1), and 78 percent of the non-magnets in that group are below norm on one or more indicators.

Money. *More money for education does not automatically produce higher levels of academic achievement.*

The city spends an average of $5,727 per pupil at the "super" magnets and $4,300 at below-norm magnets. Yet, at most of the other magnets, where median scores are above norm, per-pupil costs average as little as $4,195, which is less than the $4,302 being spent at non-magnet schools.

Asians and Whites. *Asian-Americans do not flock to predominantly-White schools.*

Chicago researcher Gary Orfield notes in his 1987 study that the typical Asian-American attends a school that is 58 percent White. However, the 1989 enrollment data examined by the Institute for Independent Education show that 62 percent of the Asians are in magnet and non-magnet schools that are less than 40 percent White. They share those schools with 86 percent of the Hispanic population and 95 percent of the African Americans.

Benefit to African Americans. *Magnet schools do not benefit significant numbers of African-American students.*

Of the 175,518 African Americans in elementary and middle schools, only 6 percent are privileged to attend magnet schools. More than one-third of that 6 percent is in magnet schools that are below national norms. On the other hand, 6 percent of Hispanic students, 12 percent of Whites, and 14 percent of Asians attend magnet schools.

Desegregation. *African-Americans do not need to be surrounded by Whites or by students from high-income families in order to have high achievement.*

Magnet schools usually create environments in which there are significant numbers of White students. It is also true that magnets where there is low performance tend to have smaller percentages of Whites than high-performing magnets. However, the differences in achievement may not be the result of an increased White presence.

For example, in at least one of the "super" magnets, Poe Classical, 81 percent of the students are African Americans and an additional 3 percent are Hispanic-Americans, and 38 percent of these students come from low-income families. Another high-performing magnet, Burnside Scholastic Academy, is 99 percent African American and 41 percent low-income. On the other hand, one of the worst-performing magnets, Gallistel, is 40 percent White with 29 percent low-income families.

The task ahead to reform Chicago schools is tremendous. In fact, achievement at non-magnet schools can be set in the sharpest relief when it is contrasted with achievement at magnet schools.

For example, 70 percent of the African Americans in Chicago and 53 percent of Hispanics attend elementary schools in which the median grade equivalents are below norm on two key indicators of academic achievement: reading and mathematics (Institute Report No. 3). Another 18 and 31 percent, respectively, are in schools below norm on at least one of those indicators. Over 84 percent of all high schools, serving 82 percent of secondary students in the city, are below norm on both reading and mathematics.

If policymakers find it desirable to give all Chicago schools a student-teacher ratio that is comparable to at least the above-norm magnets (18:1), the city would require 1,515 additional

elementary and middle school teachers. However, the problem may in fact be more severe, because a significant number of the existing elementary and middle school teachers might not be competent to teach in even a low-achieving magnet school.

Recent policy initiatives and debates have highlighted the need for a more serious study of magnet schools. The Bush Administration proposed to expand magnet schools by offering $100 million in aid that is not limited to desegregation efforts (Miller, 1989). This offer may shift the focus of magnet schools from an emphasis on the interests that specific urban populations have in desegregation back to its original emphasis as a more universal concept of choice. It will also disrupt the database that is emerging on the achievement of African Americans in magnet schools, because school districts will no longer have a legal requirement to keep track of this population.

The National Education Association recently passed a resolution supporting local choice programs but rejecting programs mandated by federal and state governments. Many districts currently receive federal, state and local support, but the NEA, by rejecting two of the three sources, risks dismantling magnet schools. Although magnet schools do not now serve large numbers of African Americans, they have the potential for being a major instrument for high achievement by African-Americans in public schools.

Leading African-American educators, who met in June at Hunt Valley, Maryland, are also rethinking choice. They, too, rejected choice, because choice programs have the potential to discriminate against poor families who attend non-magnet neighborhood schools. They fear that these families might not be welcome in certain schools of choice (Bradley and Snider, 1989).

If magnet schools work and most non-magnet schools in Chicago don't work, and if magnet schools do not necessarily cost more than non-magnets or even require many more teachers, why are educators talking about squashing choice? Why not, instead, turn most of the existing schools into magnet schools and thereby make proven quality universally available.

Can the magnet experience be replicated in non-magnet schools? It requires more than merely tax dollars, new teacher candidates, and a different curriculum. We need to find out about some of the less tangible factors involved, such as the commitment of students, families and teachers that is the direct result of choice.

Second, it calls for acceptance of the possibility that the competence of teachers may make the difference.

Third, African Americans need to understand that they can, in their own cultural contexts, reach levels of high achievement that are equal to those of other groups. Learning can be stimulated in an African-Americancontext if there is commitment.

Fourth, Chicago should broaden its experiment to promote excellence by embracing independent inner-city schools as full partners in education. Operated by African Americans and Hispanic Americans themselves, these institutions serve young people right in their own neighborhoods.

Educators in non-magnet government schools are not only failing to deliver what they should, they are laying the foundation for a full retreat on choice in public schools. In the name of egalitarianism, they appear to favor proposals that keep the largest number of people at the lowest levels of academic achievement.

Chicago, with a broad range of schools that encompasses the worst and the best, is in an excellent position to demonstrate that there is hope. Chicago can show the Nation that freedom of choice and private-sector initiative are forces that should be unleashed in education so that, in unison, they can continue to do what they already have done so well.

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Chairman MILLER. They will be part of it.

Ms. RATTERAY. Thank you. In answering the Congressman, I think I would beg to differ. I think the single most important thing that we should concentrate on is education and elementary school education.

Of the eight urban school districts for which we looked at test scores and enrollment data, about 74 percent of African American children are below norm in reading, or mathematics or both. We found that the area with which they're having the greatest difficulty is reading. You can't even develop basic survival skills in most fields of employment unless you know how to read. What I think could really help is to have a strategy, to get most of our black males and females reading. We know how to do it.

In 1914, around the war time, there were schools called moonlight schools, developed by people in Kentucky, in the rural areas. They were very effective and very short run and they got those people reading.

Young African-American men and women need to know how to read and to understand information, because if they don't, they have to rely solely on summarized versions and biases of other people. Once you have to depend on other people to filter your information, you're automatically at a great disadvantage.

By providing employment, there are some people out there we might be able to help. But before that, we have to concentrate on the elementary school. These are 1988-1989 data, and these sixth graders can't read. So, in 5 years, they're just going to get further and further behind, and then you're going to have the same problems of trying to find jobs.

Mr. OWENS. Thank you very much for the extended time, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH of Vermont. I apologize for being late, Mr. Chairman.

I think I'd like to follow up with a question to Dr. Garibaldi and Dr. Ratteray. I'll try to make it quick because I think we're under some time constraints.

I think there's, from what I've been able to gain from the written testimony, agreement about the cycle. There's agreement about the problem. I think what we're trying to figure out is what to do about it.

What I am wrestling with in my own mind is what are the most viable community-based organizations that are trusted by parents that are accepted or trusted by the kids? I see schools, whether we like it or not, as being right in the middle of that step. How might we—what would your advice to us be to structure federal policy so that we give the resources, which is, one, money, yes, but then two, the flexibility and the latitude to do things with the resources. Time is a resource, good will is a resource, the community is a resource.

I have this sense that we continually give people not quite enough money or nowhere near enough money and then we tie their hands. We don't mean to, but that's what the net effect is, that the people who are working with children every day can't do what they think needs to be done. They're not allowed that latitude and that flexibility.

So, I'm wrestling for an attitude that says we want to bring the commitment home, we want to empower the people who are there and we don't mean that as an excuse. That language has been used before as an excuse to walk away from a problem. We don't mean it that way. We mean it in the sense of bringing a commitment home finally and valuing the teachers or the community workers, whoever it is.

I don't see how else you get at this problem. Schools are dying in Hartford, CT. Literally, the schools organizationally are dead. There's nothing, in a sense, there to build an improvement on. You've got to go right back into the foundation and start with each teacher and each individual.

Do you have any ideas on how we can do that? I think we're part of the problem and I don't think we mean to be.

Dr. GARIBALDI. Well, I provided that in the much more detailed study of the New Orleans Public Schools. Our committee did develop at least 50 recommendations that dealt with the role of businesses and the community, that dealt with parental responsibility, that dealt with the schools, and the larger issues of structural reforms that are needed in schools in order to bring about some of these different kinds of results.

But when we start to talk about solutions, it is that point that makes me say that it has to be a coalition of individuals. There's a role for religious leaders, there's a role for retired persons, blue collar as well as white collar workers, fraternal, civic groups, social groups, college students, everyone can play a very, very active role.

The same holds true for businesses; they can support the education or support the academic accomplishments of the children of their employees, to do some of these things. One of our recommendations, for example, was that businesses should provide either release time or some compensatory time to parents to allow them to visit the schools at least once a year, especially for their children who are in elementary schools. We found out that one-fourth of all parents that we surveyed, about 3,500 of them, said they had never been to a school for report card conferences.

Mr. SMITH of Vermont. Excuse me. Would you not agree that for a coalition to be effective though it actually has to have control over something? In other words, it has to have power to act. My image is of a 12 year old black male in New Orleans who's got 6 years of school, let's say, in front of him or her. I would like to think that an educator, within some kind of local community accountability structure, could do all sorts of things with that young black male, the goal being for that person to be successful academically, civically, socially. That's the goal. It might mean not keeping them in school when they're 13, 8 hours a day. It might mean having them in an educational program. It might mean moving around. It might be doing something other things.

I think a coalition could make that happen, but the coalition has got to have the power.

Dr. GARIBALDI. Yes. Well, what I'm trying to say is that it's the responsibility of all of these different segments now. If all of the individuals come together as a coalition and indeed say that yes, they have some power, I think that that's great.

But the fact of the matter is that everyone has to realize that we all play a very important role in this. Dr. Nobles' programs, for example, the black manhood training programs around the country, are very, very successful, but they serve a very small number of them. Even something as important as the media, the electronic media especially, can do a great deal in exposing positive role models to young black men with a quick 60 second commercial. There is a role for each one of these different groups.

One of the things that we said to people in the course of the study is that we must expect more from parents and we believe that parents have to have the same kinds of aspirations and expectations for their black male children in the same way that they do for their female children. There are many individuals who will say that that's just absolutely not possible.

One of the recommendations here is that schools need to come to parents then. If it's impossible for parents to come to schools in the evenings for a report card conferences, then let schools develop some flex system where the teachers come to school at 6:30 in the morning, let's say, where they can have an opportunity to meet with parents. We have to be more supportive and we have to be more flexible within our communities if we really want them to be a participant in the education of their children. Often times that just does not happen.

Ms. RATTERAY. I believe the single most important thing is to rely very heavily on self-help, self-initiated efforts. In Dr. Nobles' work and, of course, in the work that I've done with independent schools, the single most important thing we find is that the response must come from the community. If you rely on those areas where people try to help themselves and don't inhibit that, support it where you can, I think you can help a lot more people than are being helped today.

Dr. NOBLES. If I may, I think that the coalition idea is a good one, but it really is a coalition around an idea as opposed to a coalition of different factors. The idea, it seems to me, is that if we recognize that every process should end in a product, then governance has to ask itself what is the product that we want to receive from our investment? If it's in terms of its citizenry, then that product has to have some attributes and characteristics.

The outcome that we use in the HAWK project is the product has to be a competent, confident, conscious black man. But those three Cs could apply everywhere. If I'm dealing with aerospace, then the question becomes, "How do I produce a competent, confident, conscious astronaut?" If I'm dealing in the rural areas and whatever the agenda is there, then the question becomes, "What do I do to produce a competent, confident, conscious element that fits in that geography?"

So, the coalition comes around, how does the church, the schools, the jobs, the educators, everything produce a competent, confident, conscious human being? That conscious piece becomes important because our society is really changing and no longer is it that the melting pot means everybody has to be the same thing. So, we are now at the point of giving license to Asians being Asian and Europeans being Europeans and Africans being Africans and Native Americans being Native Americans. That is as it should be.

So, we need to begin talking about competent, confident, and conscious of who you are. If it's a black man, then how does governance guarantee the consciousness of black men? How do they guarantee the competence in whatever it is that they're doing? Finally, how do we guarantee with our resources, with our time, et cetera, the confidence that growing up in America—I grew up being nurtured, that I am confident in this world. I am competent and conscious.

Mr. SMITH of Vermont. Thank you.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you. We're going to continue. The chairman will be back momentarily.

I simply want to express my appreciation to all of you, before I run off to a vote as well, for your participation in today's panel. I want to especially welcome Dr. Sullivan, who is a constituent from New York.

One of the frustrating things that I think those of us who have been here and involved over the course of the past 8, 9 years is to see that the concern about what happens to our minority communities just seems to have abated over the course of the past 8-year period. Although we're now beginning to hear some positive sounds out of the administration, as you know, those positive sounds only go so far.

Our challenge really is to make sure that those are translated or transformed into funding for programs of all the various kinds. I think what you've demonstrated, and I'll read the testimony very carefully, is that so many of these problems were the approaches to the more interdependent and that you can't really just isolate one particular piece and say, "OK, now we've dealt with the problem of minority youth or young people." We really have to focus on a whole range of approaches.

I commend all of you for having worked in the vineyards through all of these difficult years and hopefully for all of us, the immediate future is going to be somewhat more constructive and more of a receptive environment within which to work.

I am going to break momentarily. The chairman will be right back and the hearing will then continue.

[Whereupon, at 11:51 a.m., the select committee was recessed until 11:53 a.m.]

Chairman MILLER. The hearing will reconvene. Again, my apologies to you. This was a nice, quiet Tuesday when we planned this hearing, but it hasn't turned out that way. We're squandering our money on defense.

Let me ask you a question. I might just throw this—well, first of all, specifically Dr. Sullivan. We had testimony earlier from members of youth gangs and I think both of the witnesses were in the process of trying to leave the gang. One was going back to school and the other was simply trying to figure out how he could get out without causing harm to himself or his family.

But when you mentioned that they relied on this for income, it was very clear in the testimony that there was no intent with respect to these two young men when they formed their neighborhood gang, which was essentially just guys palling around, and then were asked by somebody else, "Would you mind doing an errand for us" and it snowballed then into something much larger,

that they were doing this for the purposes of drugs. But what became clear was that this started to become a source of income, as you pointed out.

I think the fascinating thing to me, and I think to some of the other committees, was when we talked to these young men, their presentation, you could have taken them and put a white shirt and tie on these gentlemen and sat them down alongside the chairman of the board of IBM. I suspect that these young men would have described the free enterprise system with more clarity than the chairman of the board of IBM.

We make fun of the fact that you're a lookout and you get a couple hundred bucks a week or a couple hundred bucks a night or $1,000 a night, whatever it is. We don't know the truth of this, this is anecdotal evidence. But the fact is, that young man shows up every night for that job. He gets up out of bed, goes to the job, shows a certain amount of discipline. You listen to the organizational charts of some of the gangs, of some of the activities and what they're required to do. They describe to you lease backs, leveraged buyouts, hostile takeovers and more.

Dr. SULLIVAN. Very hostile.

Chairman MILLER. Very hostile takeovers. But they describe it in the same fashion that it's described—but these are skills you wish they would use some other place. It's sort of like black athletes. You take the most dedicated, disciplined people out of the community and put them into college, they don't get a degree, they don't get a job, they don't get an education, you bring them back to the community.

So, it seems to me that the talent is clearly there. To some extent it's a question of where it's directed. This incomes policy, a lot of people would turn down even the drug jobs if you put the job description in the want ad. You have to be prepared to be shot, you know. Working alone at night in a bad neighborhood.

But it seems that the notion that Dr. Sum and others have suggested that the income related aspect of this community is very, very important, whether it's avoidance of crime or the ability to sustain a family or relationship or just sustain yourself in some economic fashion is what is not here for young black males. Almost the rational alternative is to choose the entrepreneurship of the drug trade.

Am I crazy or——

Dr. SULLIVAN. I agree with a lot of your analysis. I think there's no question that there's a great deal of frustrated energy and intelligence and creativity that goes into these channels because it is blocked from being able to be invested in more productive channels. A lot of people have speculated over the years about how you could rechannel those energies once they are channeled into this field. I would suggest that's a very difficult problem. I think a lot of it happens quite naturally, these declining rates of crime with age that I talked about. I mentioned a little bit earlier that people get into crime with big expectations and they find that it's a lousy job too.

The problem is that the more deeply a person becomes involved, the harder it is to get out. I interviewed one drug dealer for quite a long period of time who was very, very punctual, never missed an

appointment. He kept his business with me straight as I think he kept his business in the drug trade straight. He was good at what he did. But he is very frustrated about it. He wanted to get out. He said, "I wish I could get a job buying and selling. I know how to buy and sell. I've been doing it for years. But what do I do? There's nothing on my resume. What do I say, I've been buying and selling drugs for years?" He'd been into it deeply enough that he was in trouble and he knew it. He couldn't get out very easily.

What we have to do is make productive channels available before that happens. Once people are involved in the street, they're damaged. Once whole communities are cut off from the labor market for long periods of time, damage is done and it's not simply enough to make the same educational and economic opportunities available that might be sufficient for other people who have not experienced that damage. The longer the isolation of our inner city communities goes on, the more expensive it's going to be for us to devise programs and solutions for the damage that's done.

Chairman MILLER. Let me ask a question to the panel. I only have a couple more.

To what extent is a young black man in a bit of a double bind, if I understand that? That is at least with respect to the media and the stereotype that you talked about, Dr. Noble. I'm probably coming through white eyes here at the moment, but the stereotype.

That is, there's Dr. Huxtable and then there's the guy who is preying on people in the street. There's this large span of individuals that aren't represented in the media, whether they're working in steel mills or they're pharmacists or they're less than exotic doctors or what have you. But the notion is that, "That astronaut made it, so you can make it. If you don't do it, you don't want it." It seems that that double bind rules out the other environmental problems that are going on in the community or racism or what have you. But you have images of success. They may be sports, entertainment, medicine or what have you, very few relatively, images of success and the images of failure and the success says that you're a failure by choice.

I just wonder to what extent there's that pressure to suggest that really making it now is at such a high level that just getting a nice middle class job and sustaining your family, you're kind of invisible. Certainly invisible, it seems to me, in the white community. We sort of have these two poles going on at this point. I don't know, again, if that's accurate or if you find it when you talk to young men, if that's a real pressure or not.

Dr. NOBLES. I think that perception is true.

Chairman MILLER. I mean I may be way off track.

Dr. NOBLES. I think the perception is correct that people see those two ends of the polarity, either a Dr. Huxtable or an Iceberg Slim. But there's all that that's in the middle. The fact of the matter is that it's probably they're both the same, that in Dr. Huxtable there is some Iceberg Slim and in Iceberg Slim there is some Dr. Huxtable.

The question is, what do the societal constraints bring out because people really do respond to their social condition? If the social condition for the majority of black men in this country gives them to be Iceberg Slims, then Dr. Huxtable is used to exploit the

fact that we blame them for not choosing to be Dr. Huxtable and not that the social conditions constrain them to have only limited options in their choices in life. So, I think it's complicated but the polarities are the same.

What happens is that we excuse ourselves, meaning society, from responsibility once we create the equation as you just did. Therefore, we can say to the black child, "Well, you didn't choose to be a good person. It's your fault," and not recognizing that he's being programed from the cradle to his grave to see the meaning of black manhood in only one slant. If we change that, then you'll get a different kind of panorama or black men.

The final thing I want to point out is I think that as we look in terms of our vision for this whole society, this whole question of my meaning being equated with my work, it's going to be recast for everybody in that we are now moving in a way of looking at jobs not as production, but jobs as meaningful activity. Where before it was productive activity, it is very rapidly becoming meaningful activity.

How you place a dollar and a time schedule on meaningful activity is going to throw this society into a whole different kind of uproar. And black men are going to be caught up in that cycle as well because we're already excluded from the productive activity slice and now we're moving as a society into meaningful activity and no one has even thought about how white men. black men, white women, black women, all people in society, are going to deal with the activities of "work" based upon a new kind of age.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. I have some other questions, but let me recognize Congressman Payne, who has been very patient here this morning.

Thank you for joining us.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. I'd just like to also compliment you for having this hearing. We've had some hearings of this nature in the State of New Jersey, where I'm from. The city of Newark, NJ has many similar problems. We have formed a group, Minority Black Men's Health Organization out of Newark and the State of New Jersey, Department of Health sees this as such a serious problem that we created within the State Department of Health a division that deals specifically with the health of black men, which we will get into the sociological, psychological and all the other areas that go into the problem.

I really don't have a specific question. I did have some but running back and forth, I've forgotten them. But I find a lot of what you said very true. I think the question before is what is it that we can immediately do?

I agree with Dr. Nobles that we've got to develop this positive imagery. We had a lot in the early 1960s. I think that James Brown probably should be commended. He's having problems right now, but when the song, "Say it loud, I'm black, I'm proud," had a lot to do with young black teens having a positive view of themselves.

So, that's going to take a long time, what you're doing, plus there's not enough of you doing it.

So, I guess my concern is here and now. What can we do tomorrow? I have ideas, but since you're on the panel—I think that the Congressman from Vermont, Congressman Smith, asked similar

questions. But if there were some things that could happen immediately with the help of the United States Congress, what would it be that you might suggest? Any of you on the panel.

Ms. RATTERAY. I would suggest that you focus tremendous resources on things that work. In many inner city communities, there are programs and environments that work. When you do that, you're going to also have to look at those places that don't work. When you compare the two, many people are going to be disillusioned.

I think we can take the bull by the horns and really say that within this particular inner-city community we have three high performing schools, then ask "What it is in those schools that is saving those children?" I think that when you get down to that level, you're going to see more of the coalitions being built. You're going to have people rallying around those magnets, those independent schools, those shining islands of hope where you can find some answers. That's going to take a great deal of resources because the methodology requires you to sit and listen to people and understand what they're trying to tell you. That takes time and money. I would think that you could do that tomorrow.

We've just finished a study here in the District of Columbia called "A Tale of Two Cities." and found that 80 percent of the African-American children in this city are in elementary schools where performance is low. We found that one percent of the African-Americans in this city are in schools where there is high performance. This brings us to the question of expectations. If you're not in an environment where you expect to perform, it's going to permeate throughout, and you're in this for 8 years. It's going to have a detrimental effect.

We have done similar types of investigations in eight urban areas, and we see the same type of thing. So, when we talk about employment, we are incubating a host of black males who, even if they get to high school, wouldn't be able to read so that they could perform well.

Dr. GARIBALDI. I want to support Dr. Ratteray's points there because many of those things which she has just mentioned are happening in many of our urban schools all across the country, as I've tried to say. I think it's very important that our schools receive some assistance.

Back in the mid 1970's, we provided emergency school assistance funds to many of our urban schools, primarily to contend with second generation desegregation problems. Those second-generation desegregation problems were suspensions and expulsions of black students. Though we're talking about black male students here, this issue is as serious for black female students as it is for black male students. I want to say that because I sometimes am threatened with being chauvinist because I'm always talking about the black male, but that was my charge for the study.

As we look at schools all across this country, we see the same things happening today in 1989. I don't want to get into an argument, but I do want to say that we have to be very cautious also with magnet schools and for selective schools for students in many of our urban areas. I have seen at least two or three reports recent-

ly that will confirm what Dr. Ratteray has just said about black students particularly in low performing schools.

But what comes across even more strongly is the fact that when we look at magnet schools, many of those students who are in magnet schools are not black or they are not minority students. The fact of the matter is that lots of those students also come from higher socioeconomic strata.

Even in New Orleans, when you have a school system that is 87 percent black and you find that 49 percent of the students in the magnet school programs are white, even though they represent seven percent of the population in the school system, that signals to me that we are serving one group of students and not spending enough dollars and resources on another group. So, we might have to imbalance the amounts of resources that we give to some urban schools in order for them to be equitable. It's the old half empty, half full issue there.

The most recent report that I saw was from a midwestern school district and the data are pretty damning in terms of who is actually getting the assistance in those particular programs.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Holloway?

Mr. HOLLOWAY. I don't know if the figure was given or not, but what is the difference in percentage of graduates between female blacks and male blacks both out of high school and out of college? What's the dropout rate.

Dr. GARIBALDI. I don't know what the exact rate——

Mr. HOLLOWAY. Is it greater among females or males?

Dr. GARIBALDI. No, I suspect that it is greater among males largely due to issues of suspension, expulsions and male students are more prone to drop out of school because of those reasons as opposed to females who tend to drop out usually because of pregnancy or because of an inclination or a desire to work. That's what the national data say.

Mr. HOLLOWAY. There's no statistics to show the differential?

Dr. GARIBALDI. No. In the case of students in college, 60 percent of black students who are in college are female. I would say that the graduation rate, obviously, is much better. But nationally, only 50 percent of all students who go to college ever graduate.

Mr. HOLLOWAY. Going back to the rural versus urban discussion. Is there a difference or do you notice a distinct difference between the plight that we have in the urban areas, do you notice a difference in divorce or the split up of families? Once they live in rural area, we realize there's a little bit more unity, a little bit more family there. Once these people move to the urban areas, do they generally fall right into the mold of an urban area? Does anyone have any statistics on that?

Dr. SUM. It's a good question, for which we don't have a good answer.

Mr. HOLLOWAY. I guess my last question would be that we talk of federal involvement and, of course, I want to touch bases a little bit on the minimum wage we talked about. I think we can accomplish what we have to accomplish without making young blacks and young whites, unemployed, as well as some of our senior citizens by going too high with minimum wage. We can do this through tax

credits, EITC's, through child care tax credits. I think there's potential for as much as $2.00 an hour per individual in tax credits out there if we can get it. Of course, that still doesn't put you where you have to be and that's where the government plays its role.

But I'm a firm believer that we encourage people to work through earned income tax credits. This adds to the general good feeling among families, among blacks as well as whites in this country. I'm a firm believer that our only approach right now to solve the minimum wage problem, problems with putting people back out to work is through tax credits. I would be interested to hear any of your thoughts regarding helping the black male through tax credits, if you think it would have any bearing on it.

Dr. SUM. I'll just take a very quick stab at an answer. I would be in substantial agreement with you about the very substantial desirability of expanding upon the earned income tax credit as a way of supplementing the incomes of those who do devote more time to the labor market. In fact, broadening the eligibility for it and expanding the size of the credit would clearly be a very desireable policy as a way of showing support for investments in families.

I guess my only view on tax subsidies is, having been involved with employment and training programs for a very long time, that we've not been extraordinarily successful with these other financial incentives as ways of buying jobs for young people.

But we've been much more successful when we've tried to buy training for young people on the job. Which is why I think that one option we would consider for boosting earnings would be to use a tax credit system whereby, when young people who graduated from high school went to work directly into the labor market, the Federal Government would, in fact, provide a combination of vouchers and tax incentives for young people to buy themselves apprenticeship or structured cooperative employment slots with private sector employers. There are a number of good examples like that throughout the country. So that you immediately provide a wage and you build upon a base of experience and training with a two to four year apprenticeship program. With this approach you are able to basically double your initial starting wage.

So, I would be in substantial support of using the tax system that way to allow us to buy a substantive combination of education, training and on-the-job experience for young people as a way of making it possible to get adult jobs within a shorter period of time.

Mr. HOLLOWAY. I guess where I'm coming from is I feel we tie so much money up that doesn't go directly to the recipients and we are limiting Federal dollars. We tie so much money up into programs that, in my opinion, most of it goes into administrative costs. I'm a firm believer that with the very limited amount of money we have today, we can do more without direct government involvement. We can do more without government regulations to the States to try to tell them how to administer the money that they send down, we have to have less Federal standards before you can receive the money.

My last question will be how can we accomplish what we're trying to do without getting the government to set standards for what we have to do? What ideas do you have, other than what's

already been discussed, that we can do to help with not only employment because if we don't give them a decent wage, I don't think we've accomplished a whole lot.

I feel that in Louisiana today with the large unemployment problems that we have, if we have $100,000 good jobs move into our state, I think we'd have to import labor because I just don't know that we have the trained work force in Louisiana. The people are out there. We have to give them the tax incentives, through whatever vehicle, to work the jobs that they have to work because we do lack the job training. All of us agree that we do have to train our young people in this country.

I have no other questions if no one has any response to that, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Let me ask you the question of, again, popular stereotypes and the concerns with them.

Doctor Nobles, what you're suggesting is that at least you're engaged in and perhaps other communities should be engaged in is some reversal of the suggestion of what we see on film, in the nightly news or on TV, prime time TV, is not African American culture, that that's really not the history of these people, that there's something else. What you seem to be suggesting is that the HAWK Program is about using the awareness and the strengths of those programs to give people some self-esteem, to essentially go forward in what may be a fairly hostile nation from time to time.

Am I correct?

Dr. NOBLES. Absolutely correct.

Chairman MILLER. I mean Spike Lee, that movie is not African American culture.

Dr. NOBLES. There are themes and there are slices and inferences in Spike Lee's movie that are clearly traditional African American culture in its precepts and in its regulations. So, I don't look at Spike Lee to say is it African American culture or not because it is.

But when one looks at culture, see culture becomes an interesting phenomena. By definition, it is the process which gives people a general design for living and patterns for interpreting their reality. Now, in that general design, in those patterns, we make inventions and solutions to problems. What we're doing in our program at the Institute is trying to take the culture of Africa and African American people as a general design for living and patterns for interpreting reality and developing solutions which are consistent with that. That's what all human communities do.

But cultures can also become aberrant and deviant. The drug phenomena in America today is creating a deviant urban culture. What you see projected on television with black participation in that deviant urban culture is misconstrued as black culture. That is simply deviant urban culture with black participants.

Chairman MILLER. OK.

Dr. NOBLES. But the traditional or classical African cultural form has retentions and residuals. You see those in Spike Lee's movie, but if you're not knowledgeable about African American culture, you misperceive that. You see a drunk and you see people and kids walking around the streets and you see the hostility that's racism. That's part of our environment. That is not our cultural base.

So, you have to begin to struggle with really knowing and understanding a peoples' culture and integrity so that you can appreciate it, respect it and build from its strengths. Culture also corrects itself. So, when cultures go aberrant, the culture will try to correct itself by reclaiming those traditions. You see across history times when people will reclaim or go back to the old ways.

In this country now, there's a Ramses II exhibit. Ramses II was an ancient Egyptian pharaoh. One of his claims to fame was that he told folk, "Let's go back and reclaim the ancient ways." The European Renaissance was a time of reclaiming classical sources. So, cultures will do that.

That's what we're arguing, that as one of the solutions in addition to jobs and education in the black community is that the African community has to have license and liberty to reclaim those things in our cultural tradition that are valuable for human development.

Chairman MILLER. I guess the reason I asked that, is that there seem to be overlays which can be unemployment or incarceration or violence or teenage pregnancy or drugs that overlays into this community. Some communities have some or all of them. But they all seem to short circuit or have the potential to short circuit the means by which this culture is transmitted. If you take away the fathers, you may be taking away the grandfathers. The same thing, if you take away the mothers, you're taking away the grandmothers.

We now have the business of crack babies. Those babies may grow up without grandmothers or mothers. In the committee here, we've listened to grandmothers who are taking care of their daughter's child because the daughter is addicted and may be dying of AIDS, may be dying of drugs. What we didn't hear about are the grandmothers who are addicted and the daughter's addicted and the baby is addicted and that baby may, in fact, grow up with no transmitters other than institutional, through foster homes or institutional care or incarceration.

I guess what worries me is how do we get those circuit breakers out? We can argue it's sort of the silver bullet. It's jobs. No, it's education. No, it's culture. It's really kind of all of that. Unless you're willing to write off—I mean we could start with all newborns and say we're going to give them jobs, education, cultural swabbing, we're going to take good care of this newborn. But you're also suggesting that millions of people just have to fend for themselves and ultimately fail.

I shouldn't say we've already done that. I fear that we may be getting ready to do that. Even when I look at some proposals on immigration, they suggest that rather than train young blacks, that we import Chinese.

Dr. NOBLES. But that has always been the history. After the emancipation, when there was a whole bunch of employable black folk, this country literally imported other people from out of the country rather than train those. So, there's something in the consciousness that we have to always go back to.

But that's not the point I wanted to make. I need just to remind you that your senses are correct. The fact of the matter is that when you look at culture, culture is not heroes and holidays or

song and dance. We generally see culture as that, it's the heroes and holidays and the song and dance of a people.

Culture is to humans as water is to the fish. It's everything. If you take a salt water fish and put him in fresh water, the salt water fish begins to have problems. You taken an African people and put them in a non-African environment, those people begin to have problems until they're able to utilize their African culture to solve the problems of their new environment.

We have never allowed black people in the United States to utilize——

Chairman MILLER. Allow?

Dr. NOBLES [continuing]. Absolutely, we've never allowed because that's what it is, a license, if you think about it. Black culture has always been illegal, literally illegal in the mind set of Americans. Everything black was deviant, negative, pathological. So, psychologically it was an illegal phenomena.

Now, we have never allowed the black community to utilize its own cultural integrity to create the solutions it's confronted with in any setting, urban or rural. That, to me, seems to be the new task, is how do you take the cultural strength of the people and allow them to develop that?

If teenage pregnancy is a problem and young people have always had sex, even long before teenage pregnancy became fashionable in this society and communities responded to that, some with prohibition, some with accommodating that, but they were able to deal with that.

Drugs have been in this world forever. But communities have responded to how do you use drugs, no use, some use, religious use, et cetera. They've done that from the general design for living and patterns for interpreting reality.

We need to take leadership in saying to the African American community, "Take your cultural strength, look at these problems, create solutions to those problems, given that racism is still ever pervasive, given that economic exploitation is still ever pervasive." How do we accommodate making solutions in those areas as well? I'm not saying racism should go off the agenda or economic exploitation should go out the agenda. Those have to be solved, but you have to also deal with it from the cultural perspective.

Chairman MILLER. Excuse me. We have a vote on. As a matter of fact, I think we're all going to have to go. I hate to cut this short. Again, my apologies. This was not intended to be this kind of a voting day. We're going to have to go vote on the Bennett amendment.

Let me thank you again. This, I hope, is the beginning of the discussion in this committee and hopefully in the Congress, and as we've heard with the Black Caucus Weekend, this is going to continue.

Thank you very much for your time and your testimony in initiating this discussion. We weren't quite sure how to get into this subject matter, but I think this has been an excellent start and across a very diverse series of subjects, some of which we're going to have to go into in more detail to fully fill out this picture.

But thank you for your time and for your expertise in coming here today.

[Whereupon, at 12:23 p.m., the select committee was adjourned.]